ELEMENTS

OF THE

HISTORY OF FRANCE,

TRANSLATED FROM THE

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CONFESSOR IN ORDINARY TO THE FRENCH KING.

BY THE

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AND

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ELEMENTS

OF THE

HISTORY OF FRANCE.

HENRY IV.

FRANCE could never deſire a more worthy maſter than Henry IV. to govern it, nor one more capable of repairing its misfortunes. He was a prince born with a great ſoul, a fine genius, an admirable judgment, formed by a maſculine and plain education, uſed to the fatigues of war, tried by misfortunes, which teach kings to know that they are men; of the age of thirty-ſix, when mind and body were at their higheſt prime; full of frankneſs and adroitneſs, of generoſity to his friends, and affection for his people; too ſuſceptible of the weakneſſes of love, but preferring glory and public good to his pleaſures; a moderate Calviniſt, without

obſtinacy, diſpoſed to ſupport the religion of the kingdom, and embrace the ſame when he ſhould be convinced that it was the true one: nevertheleſs, the greateſt part of France refuſed to acknowledge him. Vendoſme, the chief branch of the houſe of Bourbon, a deſcendant from Robert, couſin of Clement V. ſon of St. Lewis, though he was related to the late king only in the twenty-ſecond degree, aſſured himſelf of the crown. There was nothing againſt Henry but his religion, an almoſt inſurmountable barrier in a time of fanaticiſm and revolt. The duke of Epernon, and other lords and gentlemen of the army, retired at once, under pretence that their conſcience would not permit them to ſerve an heretical prince. Several others remained faithful, on condition that it ſhould be carried by the judgment of a council: but the duke of Mayenne, whether from moderation or policy, would not give him the title of king; but gave it to the old cardinal of Bourbon, who was ſtill a priſoner, and whom they proclaimed ſome months afterwards, under the name of Charles X.

The royal army, which was thirty thouſand ſtrong, at the beginning of the ſiege of Paris, diminiſhed conſiderably every day.

day. Frequent deſertions, and the retreat of a crowd of officers who demanded their diſmiſſion; the want of money, the ſcruples of the Catholics, the hatred of the Hugonots; all contributed to weaken them. Henry IV. raiſed the ſiege, and retired towards Dieppe, having no more than five or ſix thouſand fighting men. It was deliberated in council, whether he ſhould go into England or not, ſo much the leaguers had the ſuperiority. Mayenne purſued him with an army three or four times more numerous than his own. They already boaſted of an infallible victory. 'The Bearnois (for that was the name 'which the league gave to the monarch) 'cannot,' ſays they, 'eſcape us by any 'other means than by throwing himſelf 'into the ſeas.' The danger was frightful; but Henry was not eaſily terrified. The battle of Arques confounded the hopes of the rebels *. He there defeated them with his little army. It was in part the fault of the duke of Mayenne, too ſlow in his operations, loaded by the great weight of his own body, and who loſt too much time in bed and at table. 'If he does not

* After this battle, Henry IV. wrote to Crillon, in theſe terms: 'Hang thyſelf, brave Crillon; we 'have fought at Arques, and thou waſt not there.'

'change his manners,' ſaid Henry IV. 'I am 'always ſure of beating him in the field.' The indefatigable activity, and extreme ſobriety of the king, gave him the advantage over his enemy. It is ſaid, that they uſed more boots than the others uſed ſhoes.

After his victory, having received a reinforcement of four thouſand Engliſh, he carried terror to the gates of Paris, where a falſe report of his defeat had been ſpread. He took five boroughs ſword in hand; and, if the cannon had arrived a little later, the city would have been ravaged. The dukes of Mayenne and Namours re-entered it juſt in time to defend it: the whole kingdom was torn to pieces, and the party of the league governed. Some parliaments authoriſed rebellion; that of Toulouſe paſſed a fanatical act, which ordained proceſſions in memory of the aſſaſſination of Henry III. and which declared Henry IV. incapable of ſucceeding to the crown. Sextus V. had ſent a legate with commiſſion to elect ſuch a king as would be agreeable to the court of Rome. Philip II. king of Spain, demanded the title of protector of France, that he might diſmember it, to pleaſe his own ambition. This artful prince, being willing to be maſter of the league, gave them moderate ſuccours, by which he propoſed to keep them always in dependence; but the

the duke of Mayenne reſolved not to receive him for a maſter, and avoided his project, though at the ſame time he made uſe of his aſſiſtance. He diminiſhed the power of the ſixteen, whoſe audacity was grown to the moſt unbridled height. The Day of Arques had tarniſhed his reputation, and it was his place to re-eſtabliſh it by ſome ſtriking action. He marched againſt the king, who beſieged Dreux and Normandy, and who immediately raiſed the ſiege that he might fight: notwithſtanding the advantage and number, the duke was again defeated at Ivri. This famous battle alone, was ſufficient to immortalize Henry IV. both as a general and ſoldier; he ſhewed as much addreſs as he did bravery. Before the action he ran through the ranks with an air of gaiety which ſeemed to preſage victory; ſaying to the troops, 'Children, if your ſtand-'ards fail you, bring yourſelves together 'by my white plume; you will always ſee 'it in the midſt of honour and glory: 'God is for us.' Once it was thought that he was dead in the midſt of them; but he ſoon again appeared, covered with the blood of his enemies. His ſoldiers became more than heroes. The marſhal of Biron commanding the corps of reſerve, without being the ſtrength of

the battle, had great ſhare in the victory. He felicitated the king in theſe terms: 'Sire, you have done to-day that which 'Biron ought to have done, and Biron 'that which the king ought to have done.' The clemency of the victor raiſed the glory of his triumph. 'Save the French,' cried he, as he purſued thoſe who fled. Theſe little anecdotes ſerve to delineate this great man, whoſe manners gained him the poſſeſſion of all hearts. We cannot help mentioning, among the reſt, the careſſes with which he honoured his officers. The marſhal of Aumont coming in the evening to take his orders, he tenderly embraced him, and inſiſted on his ſtaying ſupper, ſeating him at the table, he ſaid, 'It was 'very juſt that this ſhould be a feaſt, ſince,' ſays he, 'it may be called my nuptials.'

After ſome interval, cauſed by the want of money, Henry IV. formed the blockade of Paris. The duke of Namours, brother to the duke of Mayenne, commanded there in quality of governor; he provided for every thing which might happen, with prudence and ſingular activity.

Meanwhile, the cardinal of Bourbon died in his priſon of Fontenoy at Poictou; a good prelate, affectionate to the king, his nephew, and who was drawn in among the leaguers, leſs through the ambition of a prince,

a prince, than zeal for the Catholic religion. The Sorbonne, which was the moſt reſpectable court, was now infected with the contagion, and ſolemnly decided, that Henry of Bourbon, when he ſhould be abſolved from cenſure, could not even then be admitted to the crown; they being obliged, in conſcience, to take all methods to prevent it; and that, if at length they ſhould die for ſo holy a cauſe, they might aſſure themſelves the palm of martyrdom. The parliament, or rather the remainder of this illuſtrious body, through cowardice or inconceivable delirium, approved this decree, which was as full of extravagance as fury, and forbid, under pain of death, any one to ſpeak of a compromiſe with the king; and, to fill up the meaſure of their madneſs, they formed a kind of regiment of prieſts and monks, who ran through the ſtreets in proceſſion, with a breaſt-plate before them, and their muſkets on their ſhoulders: a ridiculous ſpectacle, but very likely to excite the fanaticiſm of the populace.

There were incloſed in Paris two hundred and twenty thouſand people. Three months of blockade had exhauſted their proviſions: famine became intolerable; they were already reduced to grind the bones of the dead to make them bread. The religious,

who firſt inſpired the ardour of martyrdom, were not the moſt careleſs about life: a viſit made in the convents developed their intereſting contrivances. Mezerai aſſures us, that they found amongſt the capuchins abundance of proviſions. This diſcovery was a little reſource; but Paris would not have eſcaped Henry IV. if, through an exceſs of goodneſs, he had not ſuffered thoſe who were uſeleſs to retire, and ordered his own officers and ſoldiers to let refreſhments enter for their friends. It is recorded, that two peaſants, who were going to be hanged for having carried bread in at a back-door, threw themſelves on their knees, and repreſented to him, that they had no other way of preſerving life. 'Go in peace,' ſaid he to them, giving them the money which he had about him, 'the Bearnois is poor; if 'he had more he would give it you.' This conduct was undoubtedly imprudent; but it was an imprudence well worthy admiration.

Meanwhile neceſſity rendered the Pariſians more tractable: notwithſtanding the decrees of the theological faculty, and the acts of the league-parliaments, they made ſome overtures for an accommodation. They offered to ſubmit, provided that the king would renounce Calviniſm.

He

He believing himſelf ſure of ſucceſs, was willing to impoſe conditions himſelf. An unforeſeen event made him loſe the fruit of ſo much labour. Philip II. who feared the end of theſe troubles, and who flattered himſelf with gaining the crown of France, had ordered the duke of Parma, Alexander Farneſe, governor of the Low Countries, to march to the ſuccour of Paris. Some danger there was in leaving the provinces unfurniſhed, expoſed to the enterpriſes of the Hollanders. This famous general approached with a powerful army. Henry IV. in deſpair, gave him battle, and ſent him word, that he ſhould never eſcape him. 'For my part,' ſaid the duke of Parma, 'I will eſcape at his 'expence, and whoever can keep me 'here, ſhall be more than I am.' The deliverance of Paris was the end of his expedition; he preſerved it without much trouble.

This thunderbolt greatly diſcouraged the king's troops: they were in want of money, clothes, and nouriſhment. The king himſelf was in want of a dinner, going to eat every day in the tent of Francis d'O, ſuperintendant of the finances, whoſe table was not very well ſerved. After the departure of the duke of Parma, who very ſoon retired into the Low Countries,

war continued in France with the ſame animoſity, without producing any thing memorable.

A foreign enemy increaſed the public misfortunes. It was the duke of Savoy, who, not content with uſurping the marquiſate of Saluces, endeavoured to invade Dauphiny and Provence. Leſdeguieres, one of the greateſt ſoldiers of his age, a rebel under the preceding reign, in quality of Calviniſt, faithful to Henry IV. and zealous for his own fortune, preſerved Dauphiny, and afterwards ſent to demand the government of Grenoble. The king at firſt refuſed it by the advice of his council; becauſe he had engaged to preſerve governments for the Catholics. 'Gentlemen,' ſaid the envoy from Leſdeguieres, 'your ſudden reply has made me 'forget ſomething which I ſhould have 'ſaid; which is, that ſince you do not think 'proper to give my maſter the govern-'ment of Grenoble, you will at leaſt think 'of the means of taking it from him.' This boldneſs did not diſpleaſe Henry IV. Leſdeguieres was all-powerful in his province: they had want of him, and judged that, in an extraordinary caſe, they might a little overlook rules.

It is in theſe conjunctures that weakened authority is no longer able to ſupport itſelf.

It was with much trouble that they preſerved Dauphiny from an invaſion. But the duke of Savoy was more happy in Provence: they received him in that country as if he had been the ſovereign. The parliament of Aix declared him governor, and gave him the title of lieutenant-general under the crown of France. The beſt of kings was always looked upon as a tyrant by thoſe who did not believe it poſſible for him to be a king without being a Catholic; a fatal prejudice, which ambition made uſe of in order to exerciſe real tyranny.

Rome was always powerful in theſe turbulent conjunctures. Sextus V. died, deſpiſing the league which he had favoured through a falſe courteſy, and eſteeming Henry IV. whom he had injured through policy. Gregory XIV. born in the king of Spain's dominions, abuſed the pontifical authority in a higher degree than even his predeceſſor had done. He publiſhed monitories, by which he ordered, under pain of excommunication, that every perſon ſhould quit the part of a relapſed heretical king, who was a perſecutor of the church, excommunicated, and conſequently diveſted of all his dominions (this was the common ſtile). He ſent money, and promiſed troops to the leaguers. In vain the king inceſſantly proteſted, that he was

willing to be convinced of the Catholic religion, and that his enemies had prevented him by an obſtinate war. They deigned not to hear either his reaſons or promiſes, and the ſpirit of faction was ſtill more envenomed by the eagerneſs of falſe zeal. At Rome and Paris they oppoſed, leſs for the ſake of religion, than to ſerve the king of Spain. This ambitious monarch flattered himſelf with uſurping France. As he had already ravaged Portugal, he pretended to reign there, or at leaſt to make his daughter do ſo; reckoning much on his policy and his great treaſures. He already would often ſay, 'My city of Paris, my city of Roan,' &c. The ſixteen ardently entered into his views. Their inſolence increaſed every day, until they even governed the duke of Mayenne. Tranſported with fury that the parliament had ſent back a particular perſon unpuniſhed, whoſe death had been ſolicited by the league, they ſeized three magiſtrates; and among others the preſident Briſſon, who was then at the head of the parliaments. They condemned them to be hanged, and executed that ſentence on them. At the news of this outrage, Mayenne, who was then abſent, haſtened to return. He diſſembled for ſome days; but at length delivered a few of theſe furious

furious people to the torture. Buſſi le Clerc, the moſt culpable of all, who was governor of the Baſtile, obtained a permiſſion of retiring. Thus was deſtroyed the tyranny of the ſixteen, a faction compoſed of ſome fanatical curates, and a great number of other dregs of the people; as powerful to the chiefs of the league, as the heir of the crown.

There was now formed a third party in favour of the young cardinal of Bourbon, ſon to the prince of Conde, who was killed at Jarnac. The king diſcovered the intrigue, and ſtopt it by ſecuring the perſon of the cardinal. Elizabeth, and the Proteſtant princes of Germany, having ſent him a reinforcement of troops, he undertook the ſiege of Rouen, one of the bulwarks of the league. It was ſaid of the Pariſians, that they knew better how to faſt than to fight; the contrary might be ſaid of Rouen. Villas Brancas, ſtrongly ſeconded by the garriſon and citizens, defended himſelf with a valour of which there are few examples in hiſtory. Henry IV. often expoſed himſelf as an officer of fortune. This attack and defence were equally lively; but the rebels would have been at laſt overpowered, if the duke of Parma had not come once more to their aſſiſtance. The king marched with part

of

of the army to give him battle, and was wounded by a ſtroke from a muſket, in an action, where, followed only by forty horſe, he raſhly affronted thirty thouſand men. His enemies might have purſued and taken him; but the duke of Parma, ſuppoſing that he was ſupported by all his cavalry, loſt this deciſive opportunity. The ſoldiers murmured and taxed his prudence with weakneſs. He juſtified himſelf by ſaying, 'That he imagined he had an 'affair with a general of an army, and not 'with a captain of light horſe, ſuch as he 'found the king of Navarre to be *.'

Henry was conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege of Rouen; but misfortunes only ſerved the more eagerly to excite his courage. He purſued the duke of Parma, who was engaged in the country of Caux. This general, in want of proviſions, ſcarcely recovered from a diſorder which was occaſioned by a wound, found himſelf, in his turn, in extreme danger. There were no means for his eſcaping but by paſſing the Seine at Caudebec, which is very wide. The

* Dupleſſis Mournai wrote to Henry IV. on the ſubject of this action: 'Sire, you have already been 'Alexander; it is time that you ſhould now be 'Auguſtus: it is our part to die for you, and it is 'your glory, Sire, that you ſhould live for France; 'and I dare tell you that it is your duty to do ſo.'

undertaking

undertaking appeared impoſſible. The king, at the ſame time, did not contrive to put any obſtacle in his way: a bridge of boats was found ready, of which he had not the leaſt ſuſpicion. The enemies paſſed, deſtroyed the bridge, and returned to Paris. It is ſaid that the duke of Parma having ſent to demand of the king what he thought of his retreat, he briſkly replied, 'That he did know what retreat 'was; and that the beſt retreat in the 'world appeared to him nothing more 'than a flight.' (Daniel.) This expreſſion was not worthy of ſo enlightened a prince, ſo juſt an eſtimator of merit. I ſhould rather believe, as is aſſured us, that he eſteemed this retreat more glorious than two battles; acknowledging, that the chief work of a great captain does not depend more on fighting and vanquiſhing, than in atchieving an enterpriſe without hazarding a combat. According to the ſame author, the marſhal of Biron, engaged in the prolonging of the war, neglected an opportunity of deſtroying the Spaniſh army. His ſon demanding of him ſome troops for an eſſential and infallible enterpriſe, 'What, thou 'fool!' ſaid the marſhal to him, ſwearing, 'Who wouldſt thou ſend to plant laurels 'for Biron?' It is the cuſtom of the ambitious to prefer their own intereſts to that of

of that of their king and country. If Biron did not really ſay what the hiſtorian makes him do, we may preſume that he thought ſo, as his actions ſeemed to be governed by that principle.

Affairs in Provence now took a better turn, where the duke of Savoy loſt all his conqueſts, or rather his uſurpations. Leſdeguieres had diſſipated the troops of the pope; the league had loſt its hero; the chevalier of Aumale, prince of Lorrain, who was killed in attacking St. Dennis; but the king alſo regretted the brave and virtuous la Noue, who was killed at the ſiege of Lumbale: the provinces were all drenched in ſlaughter; the cities taken and retaken; the country ravaged, and an infinite number of bye-battles extirpated the nobility, and depopulated the kingdom. The marſhal of Biron had his head carried off by a cannon ball before city of Epernai. This was the firſt general of France: Henry IV. was much indebted to him, and would have been infinitely ſenſible of his loſs, if the pride and pretenſions of this lord had not a little weakened the obligation of his ſervices.

In this violent criſis of the ſtate, Paris was the center of troubles. There were at this time two factions in it; thoſe of the ſixteen, conſiderably fallen, devoted to the Spaniards, irritated againſt Mayenne,

Mayenne, endeavouring to make the young duke of Guiſe king, who had eſcaped from the priſon where he had been ſhut up after the murder of his father; and the political party, compoſed of gentlemen, magiſtrates, and the top citizens. They only demanded the acknowledgment of Henry IV. who was willing to ſubmit to the church. The duke of Mayenne contriving alſo for peace, managed with great addreſs betwixt the king of Spain, whom he did not break with, and the king of France, whoſe party he pretended to be of. The zealous leaguers demanded an aſſembly of the ſtates for the election of a king. Clement VIII. who followed the ſteps of Gregory XIV. ordered the French to reunite, or rather to diſpoſe of the crown. Mayenne aſſembled their pretended ſtates general. The pope's legate dared at firſt to demand of them an oath not to be reconciled with the king of Navarre, when he abjured hereſy. The Spaniards, on their ſide, demanded an aboliſhment of the Salique law, and that the infanta of Spain ſhould be declared queen of France. How could the citizens of France help ſighing under theſe propoſals? Superſtition had then changed the nature of the conſtitution.

Never had Henry been in ſuch cruel perplexities. A king elected by the ſtates would

would moſt likely have drawn after him all the Catholics. Thoſe few of that religion who were of his party, were much diſpleaſed at his perſeverance in a deteſtable ſect: he had no other reſource but to wage eternal war, or to change his religion. The wiſeſt among the Hugonots adviſed him to decide immediately. 'The cannon 'of the maſs,' ſay they, 'will be the 'beſt means of reducing the rebels.' Roſni, afterwards duke of Sully, though ſincerely attached to Calviniſm, endeavoured to make him look on this ſtep as not only juſt but neceſſary. Some Proteſtant miniſters, who were more moderate than others, forwarded the deſign, by owning that he might meet with ſalvation in the Romiſh church. If we may believe Daniel, he was already a Catholic in his heart; but ſtrong reaſons makes us at leaſt doubt it: whatever he was, (for God only knows the ſoul) he promiſed to embrace the Catholic religion without delay. It was now that the people of that religion attached themſelves to his perſon, and propoſed conferences to thoſe of Paris. The legate, the Spaniards, and their partizans, vainly endeavoured to fight againſt ſo reaſonable a project. The conferences were opened at Surenne: the prelates leaguers, carrying their prejudices againſt the king

to

to that place, affected to revoke it, doubting his ſincerity, and alledging proofs of his attachment to hereſy; inſiſting likewiſe, that nothing could be concluded on without the conſent of the pope: that he had forbidden any treaty with an heretical prince; and that obedience due to the chief of the church ought to be a reigning principle againſt all others. The archbiſhop of Bourges refuted their chicaneries by the juſt principles of the right of crowns, and the liberties of the national church. It was eaſily ſeen that the intereſt of the univerſal church, as well as that of the ſtate, exacted, on this occaſion, a wiſe condeſcenſion; but the proud and obſtinate zealots, not ſeeing that they ruined religion, gloried in ſupporting their opinions; and theſe conferences produced little effect.

Meanwhile, the Spaniſh ambaſſador inſiſted on their electing the infanta. At length, to forward his deſign, he declared, that the intention of Philip was, that ſhe ſhould marry the duke of Guiſe, who ſhould be elected ſovereign jointly with her. The ſixteen aſked no more. The duke of Mayenne had no other care but to conſent. In the midſt of theſe agitations, the parliament, though captive and maimed, (theſe were the terms of Perifexe) regaining its ancient vigour, publiſhed

liſhed a decree for the ſupport of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and to prevent thoſe, who, under pretence of religion, were for transferring the crown into the hands of a ſtranger. The Spaniard was diſſatisfied with this proclamation, and ſtill more by the converſion of Henry IV. who, after one or two days conference with the biſhops, made his abjuration at St. Dennis, before the archbiſhop of Bourges, and received from him abſolution from all cenſures. This was the moſt happy event that could be deſired: the legate, inſtead of laying his hands on him, forbid, under pain of excommunication, any one to aſſiſt at the ceremony. The Pariſians, notwithſtanding, ran in crowds. It now appeared, that their diſlike for the religion of the king, extended not to his perſon: but there were ſome of theſe men who were fanatics through ſyſtem, who were, with more difficulty, reconciled, than the body of the people. Dr. Boucher, a furious leaguer, gave a looſe in his pulpit againſt the Catholic monarch. Several theologians and preachers declaimed, writing againſt him with redoubled frenzy.

This year, Henry ran the riſk of being aſſaſſinated; a young ſailor named Barriere, had formed the deſign: being diſcovered, and

and put to the queſtion, he mentioned a capuchin, a Jeſuit, a curate of Paris, and another prieſt, whom, he ſaid, had put him upon this attempt. The maxims of the leaguers all led, ſooner or later, to the moſt execrable parricide. Mayenne ſigned a truce of three months, promiſing, notwithſtanding, to the legate by oath, the ſupport of the league, and not to make peace. His policy taught him to ſeek the countenance of the court of Rome; and to aſſure himſelf of it, he made the council of Trent be received by the ſtates, and publiſhed it without any reſtrictions or regulations; a ſtep as vain as this aſſembly was illegal. Clement VIII. remained always inflexible on the ſubject of refuſing audience to the king's ambaſſador. 'Holy father,' ſaid an Italian auditor of the high court to him, 'if the devil ſhould demand audience of 'you, and there were any hopes of con-'verting him, would your conſcience ſuf-'fer you to refuſe it?'

Notwithſtanding this obſtacle, the French, by degrees, returned to their duty; the league loſt its power and credit; the ſatire called Manippe, which appeared at that time, rendering it ridiculous, perhaps, gave it the moſt mortal wound; for there is no country in which ridicule touches ſo nearly as in France. As ſoon as reflection ſuc-

ceeded

ceeded fury among the parties, Meaux, Pontoiſe, Orleans, Bourges, and Lyons ſubmitted. The duke of Mayenne quitted Paris, not thinking himſelf in ſafety. He had made the count of Briſac governor, who preferred the duty of a ſubject to all other engagements, and who, by his prudence, introduced the king without tumult or battle. The Spaniards were reduced to capitulate; and ſuffered to leave the place with the honours of war. Henry IV. looking out at a window at them as they paſſed, ſaluted the officers with a good grace; 'Gentlemen,' ſaid he, 'remember me kindly to your 'maſter; but never return here any more.' The legate obſtinately bent not to ſee him, obtained permiſſion to retire, taking with him the curate of Aubri, and the Jeſuit Verade, the two people whom Barriere had accuſed as his accomplices. This moderation ought to have ſoftened the court of Rome.

Nothing was of more conſequence than to re-eſtabliſh the parliament in its former glory, and to confirm monarchy by the authority of laws. The faithful magiſtrates returned into the capital, having Achilles of Harlai at their head; the others were re-eſtabliſhed, on condition that they ſhould remain on the ſpot. From this

this time the ancient ſpirit of patriotiſm again ſhone forth in the parliament. It cancelled all acts, decrees, and oaths which were made ſince 1588, and which were found prejudicial to the authority of the king, and the laws of the kingdom, as having been extorted by force: it revoked the power given to the duke of Mayenne, and annulled the acts of the laſt aſſembly at Paris, under the name of the States-General. All that fanaticiſm had inſpired, ſeemed condemned to oblivion; a bleſſed change of circumſtances! If any thing had been capable of uniting the hearts of the kingdom, it was the conduct of the king. We may judge of him by this particular circumſtance: when he was entering into Paris, ſome officers had ſtopped the baggage of La Noue, for debts that his father had contracted in the ſervice of the ſtate. This gentleman, truly worthy of conſideration, complained of this violence. Henry IV. publickly replied to him, 'La Noue, he muſt pay his 'debts; I regularly pay mine:' and taking him aſide, he gave him jewels to redeem the baggage which they had ſeized. But ſo much generoſity had power only weakly to draw the principal lords of the league; intereſt alone could fully carry them: they ſet their ſubmiſſion at the higheſt price, proving, by ſuch behaviour, that religion was

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the leaſt motive of their rebellion. Villiers ſurrendered Rouen, exacting for it prodigious ſums, beſides the appointment of admiral, and the government of ſeveral places. According to the Memoirs of Sully, it coſt thirty-two millions to ſatisfy the avarice of three rapacious men. Any other prince would have eluded the promiſes which neceſſity had extorted from him; but Henry faithfully acquitted his, when he was in a condition of violating them with impunity.

Meanwhile, the ſuperſtitious ſpirit of the league ſtill ſubſiſted. The atrocious crimes which proceed from the prejudices of religion are not eaſily effaced. The attempt projected by Barriere was executed by John Chattel, the ſon of a tradeſman at Paris, a young man, ſuſceptible of all the impreſſions of fanaticiſm. Having ſlid into the chamber among a crowd which environed the king, he gave him a ſtroke with a dagger in the throat; happily for Henry, being ſtooping to embrace a lord, the ſtroke only wounded his lip, and broke a tooth. They arreſted the aſſaſſin, and interrogating him on his crime, he ſaid, 'That knowing himſelf to be guilty of 'great ſins, he thought to avoid hell by 'this action, which he looked on as juſt 'and meritorious; becauſe the king was not 'reconciled

'reconciled to the church, and had been 'reputed a tyrant: that he had heard it 'determined on in ſeveral places, eſpeci- 'ally in the houſe of the Jeſuits, where it 'was made a part of their ſtudies.' He added, 'That theſe fathers had often in- 'troduced him into a chamber of medi- 'tations, full of frightful figures of hell;' with which, without doubt, his imagination had been too much agitated. They then believed, that theſe figures were proper to imprint eternal truths on the ſoul, which ought to enter there rather by faith than ſenſe. The Jeſuits were hated by an infinite number of conſiderable people, beſides the Proteſtants, (whoſe hatred they made it their glory to excite) but whoſe confidence, perhaps, it would have been better to have gained, in order to bring them back to the boſom of the church. The parliament had always vigorouſly oppoſed their eſtabliſhment. The univerſity could not pardon them the injury that the competition had done at their colleges. This body of people raiſed a grand proſecution, where Parquier and Arnaud, celebrated advocates, attacked the inſtitution of the Jeſuits by nearly the ſame means which has been uſed in our days. The depoſition of John Chattel precipitated their diſgrace. It is certain, that it reproached the chief part of the

body of Paris. Many eccleſiaſtics of theſe religious had a blind zeal for the court of Rome, a criminal attachment for the king of Spain, and the deteſtable maxims which lead to parricide; but the deſign was, to make an example of thoſe men who were moſt attached in general to the Ultramontaine opinions, and moſt capable, by their talents, by their employments, and by their regularity, of ſpreading it wherever they had a mind it ſhould be maintained. The ſociety had too much contributed to the birth and progreſs of the league; for the fall of one was not fatal to the other. The parliament baniſhed the Jeſuits as corrupters of youth, diſturbers of the public repoſe, and enemies of the king and ſtate. Guignard, librarian to the college, was hanged for having preſerved the ſeditious writings of which he was the author. The ſame extravagancies were expreſſed there which had been retailed in the pulpits; ſuch as, James Clement, inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, ſays, 'If they can make the Bearnois 'royal, his royalty will then preſerve him; 'but if they cannot, he ſhall be aſſaſſinat-'ed, &c.' This miſerable wretch in vain pleaded the general pardon. It was ordered, that all works of this kind, written before the proclamation of pardon, ſhould

ſhould be burnt. In controverting the act, he expoſed himſelf to ſeverity, and they judged him according to the rigour of the laws. The parliament of Bourdeaux and Tolouſe retained the Jeſuits; that of Paris, founding itſelf on the motive of the king's ſafety, in their eagerneſs to baniſh them, had not obſerved the common forms, which made their recal the more eaſy. In order to avoid all pretences for a rebellion, they ſtrongly ſolicited an abſolution for Henry IV. from Rome. Du Perren and d'Oſſat, afterwards cardinals, endeavoured it with as much prudence as activity, while the court of Spain made uſe of gold to corrupt the ſacred college. The cardinal Tolet, though a Jeſuit and a Spaniard, faithfully ſeconded the views of France. The pope was at length moved. Olivieri, auditor of the chief court, ſpoke freely to him, and ſtruck him one day by theſe words, ſo full of reaſon; 'Clement VII. 'loſt England by reſolving to pleaſe 'Charles V. Clement VIII. will loſe 'France if he continues to carry on his 'complaiſance to Philip II.' Nothing in effect could be ſtronger than bringing to mind the late ſchiſms, in order to mollify the extreme rigour of the pontiff. The cardinals of the Spaniſh faction were, however, deſirous of making conditions con-

formable to their own ſentiments; they demanded, that the clauſe of the act againſt Chatel, ſhould be effaced, and that the king ſhould not be acknowledged without having the abſolution of the pope. Their cabal was not able to prevail over the manifeſt intereſt of the church. Clement granted the abſolution in a manner which ſatisfied Henry, and Rome teſtified an extraordinary joy.

Among a ſmall number of lords who perſiſted in rebellion, the duke of Mayenne was the moſt dangerous and the moſt culpable. The king attacked him in his government of Burgundy. He there found a Spaniſh army under the orders of the conſtable of Caſtile. Having been reconnoitred by the enemy, at the head of three hundred horſe, he met all at once an entire army. They began the attack briſkly. 'Follow me,' cried he, 'and do as you 'ſee me do.' Never had he run ſo much riſk, or ſhewn ſo much valour, as in this day of French Fontaine. The Spaniſh general was not willing to hazard a battle, and being perſuaded, as was formerly the duke of Parma, that the king would not expoſe himſelf in this manner without having a larger party of his troops at hand; precipitately retired, vanquiſhed by a graſp of his enemies. Henry IV. ſaid, 'That 'formerly he had fought for victory; but

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'on this occaſion he had done it for life. He granted a truce to the duke of Mayenne, and peace was concluded the following year. This illuſtrious chief of the party, whom they were not willing to puſh to the laſt extremity, obtained conditions more advantageous than he could have hoped for. The goodneſs and policy of the king brought him back to his duty; loaded with careſſes when he came to render him homage, he aſſured him that it was then only that his ſovereign had vanquiſhed him. Mayenne was extremely fat; Henry having tired him with pleaſure in a hunting party, ſaid to him, laughing, 'This, couſin, is the only evil that I 'ſhall ever do you as long as I live.' The duke was transformed into a faithful ſubject, and all the kingdom returned to obedience, except a party which was in Britanny, under the duke of Mercœur, one of the princes of the houſe of Lorrain, ſo fruitful in producing powerful oppoſers to the kings of France.

Henry at length declared war againſt Philip, the principal actor in theſe civil troubles; and this war was the beginning of misfortunes. The Spaniards took Cambray. They made, in 1596, more important conqueſts, taking Calais and Ardres. An excellent French officer,

named Roſnes, procured them this advantage by a ſingular fatality. Reſolved to return to the ſervice of the king, he treated ſecretly with the court, which the enemy having diſcovered, in order to avoid a death which was prepared for him, and to diſſipate their ſuſpicions by the ſtrength of his ſervices, he offered to beſiege thoſe two places, of which they themſelves did not dare to think. The king ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth. She appeared extremely diſpleaſed at his change of religion, and went ſo far as even to make him reproaches, for a ſtep which ſhe would, without doubt, have taken in the ſame circumſtances. Her ambaſſador promiſed, nevertheleſs, to make uſe of all his efforts to ſave Calais, on condition that they ſhould return the place to the Engliſh until the payment of the ſum which the queen ſhould lend them. The noble pride of the monarch would not ſuffer him to ſubſcribe to this propoſal. He refuſed it, ſaying, 'That if he was to be bit, he 'choſe rather that it ſhould be by a lion than 'a lioneſs.' Preſſed by neceſſity, and deprived of aſſiſtance, he convoked at Rouen an aſſembly of notables, a kind of States-General, to ſupply the neceſſities of the kingdom. He there pronounced a ſpeech, which it is impoſſible to read without feeling

ing a tender admiration: 'If,' ſays he, 'I had 'any glory in paſſing for an excellent ora- 'tor, I ſhould make uſe of more fine words 'than good deeds; but my ambition leads 'to ſomething more than talking well; 'I aſpire to the glorious title of deliverer 'and reſtorer of France; already, through 'the favour of Heaven, through the coun- 'cils of my faithful ſervants, and by the 'ſwords of my brave and generous nobi- 'lity (by which I do not mean to diſtin- 'guiſh princes only, the quality of gen- 'tleman being the greateſt title that we 'can poſſeſs) I have drawn this country 'from ſervitude and ruin: I deſire now 'to raiſe it to its former greatneſs and 'ancient ſplendour. Partake with me, 'my ſubjects, in this ſecond glory, as you 'have done in the firſt. I do not call 'you together, as ſome of my predeceſſors 'have, blindly to follow my will; I have 'aſſembled you to receive your counſels, 'to believe, to follow them; in a word, 'to put myſelf into your hands, to be 'tutored by you. It is a deſire which is 'ſeldom made by kings, by grey hairs, 'and by the victorious, ſuch as I am; 'but the love which I bear to my ſub- 'jects, and the extreme deſire which I 'have to preſerve my ſtate, makes me 'find every thing eaſy and honourable.'

The aſſembly teſtified great zeal and did nothing. A radical vice, for which the king had not been able to find a remedy; the bad adminiſtration of the finances, rendered the beſt deſigns uſeleſs *. He gave this place a little time after to the famous Roſney, and the face of every thing was immediately changed. Extortions ceaſed; the avarice of the noblemen and financiers were reſtrained; order was re-eſtabliſhed throughout, and the people's money carried directly to the treaſury, and conſecrated to public uſe; the taxes levied with wiſdom, and the debts faithfully acquitted. A juſt œconomy enriched the prince and kingdom. In a word, during the interval of fifteen years, which time Sully was miniſter, in ſpite of the conſiderable diminution of all kinds of taxes, and the payment of debts, the revenues of the crown increaſed four millions: and in what circumſtances did this happen! but let us alſo conſider what a king and what a miniſter!

* The king wrote to Sully during the war againſt Spain, in theſe terms: 'I am very near my enemies, 'and have not a horſe on which I can fight: my 'ſhirts are all torn to pieces; my coat is out at the 'elbows; and for theſe two days paſt, I have dined 'ſometimes with one, and ſometimes with another, 'my purveyors not being able to furniſh my 'table.'

Let

Let us now return to the thread of events. The Spaniards took Amiens by ſurpriſe, while the citizens were at maſs. Thoſe who were on the ſpot were unfortunately bent to defend the city, whoſe imprudence coſt them dear. Under another reign, this accident would have produced a revolution. Danger threatened Paris, and terror ſpread itſelf in all parts. The king was the more uneaſy, as the Calviniſts, at the ſame time, gave him no little inquietude: not content with the liberty of conſcience which had been granted them, and which the Catholics had wiſely judged neceſſary, they were determined to preach throughout the kingdom. They demanded money, whether to furniſh the garriſon of their cities of ſafety, or whether for the appointment of their miniſters, is uncertain; but ſeditious aſſemblies, and inſolent enterpriſes againſt the royal authority, gave occaſion to apprehend an approaching rebellion. Leſdeguieres, though attached to their ſect, reproached them for a conduct ſo contrary to the duty of citizens; but Henry IV. could not be prevented from ſatisfying them. His great object was then, to recover the capital of Picardy. 'I am now 'ſufficiently king of France,' ſaid he, one day, 'it is time I ſhould be alſo king of

'Navarre.' He beſieged Amiens, and gave new proofs of his valour. A Spaniſh army arrived in the Low Countries, and retired without daring to attack his line. The garriſon capitulated, after a vigorous reſiſtance. The commandant ſaid to the victor, 'That he returned this city to a ſoldier 'king, ſince he had no more a maſter 'that could ſuccour him by ſoldier cap-'tains.' No nobleman diſtinguiſhed himſelf more at the ſiege than the marſhal of Biron, the ſon of him of whom we have formerly ſpoken. Henry, always ready to excite and recompenſe merit, made him a compliment in that delicate and ingenious manner which engraves itſelf on the memory of mankind: the provoſt of the tradeſmen, and the ſheriffs of Paris being come out to compliment him on his return, 'Gentlemen,' ſaid he to them, 'behold the 'marſhal of Biron, whom I willingly pre-'ſent to my friends as well as my enemies.'

There remained nothing more than to make the duke of Marcœur ſubmit, who was continually rebelling in his government of Britanny, where the king had not as yet appeared. He at length went there: the cities preſſed to receive him, and the duke was too happy in being able to obtain peace by giving his daughter, heireſs to his

whole fortune, to the duke of Vendoſme natural ſon of Henry IV.

During this voyage, the Calviniſts obtained the edict of Nantes, ſo favourable on their ſide; entire liberty of conſcience, and public exerciſe of their religion; in ſeveral cities, ability of poſſeſſing all kinds of places and employments; places of ſafety for eight years; and forty-five thouſand crowns annually, to ſupport their miniſters. This was more than had ever been granted them. Their inclination to rebellion, and the neceſſity of preventing freſh troubles, made the king determine on theſe ſteps. He found much reſiſtance on the ſide of the parliament; but his reaſons carried it. 'The Catholic religion,' ſaid he to the Catholics, 'can only be maintained by 'peace; and the peace of the ſtate is the 'peace of the church. I reſemble it to a 'ſhepherd who would lead his ſheep into 'the fold by mild behaviour. There is 'no other diſtinction between the Catho'lics and the Hugonots; they ſhould all 'be good Frenchmen, and I ſhould wiſh 'the Catholics to convert the Hugonots 'by the example of a good life. When 'they made edicts againſt thoſe of the re'ligion of which I then was, I rejoiced 'and ſaid, Praiſe be to God, whether we

'have four thouſand men, or whether we 'have ſix thouſand; and we ſhall at laſt 'find, that thoſe who were formerly diſ-'perſed, will be conſtrained to reunite. 'If I had a deſire to hurt the Catholic 'religion, you would not be able to 'hinder it; I ſhould come with twenty 'thouſand men; and I ſhould drive from 'hence whomſoever I pleaſed; I ſhould 'ſay to the judges, My lords, you muſt ve-'rify the edict, or I will put you to death; 'but I ſhould then be a tyrant,' &c. They ſaw, by this little diſcourſe, that Henry IV. could not ſeparate the intereſts of religion from thoſe of the ſtate. If, in the beginning of their troubles, the ſame maxims had prevailed, hereſy had not ſerved as a pretence for the intrigues of the league; nor had the league concluded by increaſing the advantages of hereſy. Experience is the ſchool for wiſe government; and when we reflect on the events of every age, we cannot help feeling how preferable, in eccleſiaſtical quarrels, a circumſpect moderation is to a dangerous violence.

The treaty of Vervins with the king of Spain finiſhed the eſtabliſhment of the tranquillity of the kingdom. It could not be more honourable. The Spaniards gave back all that they had taken in Picardy:

Henry

Henry IV. returned nothing. Philip II. died a little afterwards. His policy had put all Europe in agitation, without gaining any thing to himſelf: Holland drew itſelf from his dominion: France delivered itſelf from his injuſtice. Five thouſand five hundred millions of gold, diſſipated in fruitleſs projects, proved that he was the moſt powerful monarch in Europe, but not the greateſt king. His affected zeal againſt Proteſtantiſm did not hinder him from animating the Proteſtants againſt the Catholics, when it was agreeable to his intereſt ſo to do. He drew on himſelf more hatred than glory: he was called the Dæmon of the South: religion ought rather to have rendered him an angel of peace. The Spaniſh monarchy languiſhed under Philip III. his ſucceſſor.

We are grieved that truth will not ſuffer us to conceal the weakneſs of great men; but we ought to make good uſe of their faults, by drawing from them uſeful leſſons for human life. Henry IV. triumphing over his enemies, was himſelf a ſlave to love. Gabriella of Eſtree, the dutcheſs of Beaufort, held him in ſuch captivity, that it is ſaid he had even thoughts of making her his queen. For a long time he had lived ſeparate from his wife, Margaret of Valois; a mutual antipathy, which could never

never be conquered, divided them: they each of them desired a divorce, and they solicited it at Rome. The motive on which they founded their pretences was, that their marriage had been forced, and that they had not had necessary dispensations. Meanwhile a sudden death snatched away the lovely Gabriella. The king soon after fell desperately in love with Madam d'Entragues, daughter of a mistress of Charles IX. She took pains to increase his passion, and then declared, that she would never satisfy it, without a promise of marriage. The promise was signed; Henry IV. shewed it to Sully *, and asked his advice. This courageous minister took the paper, and made no other reply than tearing it to pieces. 'How, morbleue,' cried the king, enraged, 'I believe you are 'mad.' Sully coldly replied, 'It is true, 'Sire, I am mad, and I should wish to be 'outrageously so, could I be the only mad-'man in France.' He made no doubt of his disgrace; but, on the contrary, some days afterwards, he was made grand-master of the artillery. His zeal was still better recompensed by the resolution which the

* The land of Sully was not erected into a dutchy till several years after; but it is time to give to Rosney the name by which he is so celebrated.

king

king took of concluding a marriage more worthy of him. The commiſſaries of the pope having pronounced the ſentence of divorce, he married Mary of Medicis, by whom he had Lewis XIII. During the time in which gallantry ſeemed to enſlave him, he vigorouſly aſſerted his right on the marquiſate of Saluces, which the duke of Savoy had ſeized under the late reign. This artful cunning prince came into France to treat with the king, flattering himſelf either to preſerve by addreſs the fruit of his uſurpation, or to form a party of malcontents in the kingdom; but he had to do with the moſt prudent and moſt firm monarch in the world. Henry, while he ſhewed him every mark of friendſhip, ſtill inſiſted on the reſtitution of Saluces. The duke promiſed it, and retired; but broke his word. Immediately war was declared. Savoy and Breſt were conquered in three months. The enemy made peace, and yielded Breſt and Bugei for the marquiſate of Saluces. According to ſome hiſtorians, Leſdeguieres ſaid, "That the "king had concluded this peace like a "tradeſman, and the duke of Savoy like "a prince." But beſides that, the change was very advantageous, Saluces being nothing more than a continual expence. The king preferred ſolid glory to vain chime-

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ras. He had it more at heart to heal the wounds of France, than to open for himſelf a paſſage into Italy. Meanwhile the leaven of rebellion fomented in ſome turbulent minds; and it was neceſſary for him to finiſh the war, that he might be able to reſtrain it. We may obſerve, during theſe divided politics, a ſingular diſpute in religion, between two men who were not made for agreement. Dupleſſis Mornai, a great man of war, and grand negociator, a Calviniſt, equally zealous for his ſect and for his king, whom they named the Pope of the Hugonots, having publiſhed a book againſt the maſs, the biſhop of Evreux, du Perone, ſtrongly engaged himſelf to prove, that there were more than five hundred falſe paſſages in this book. The author accepted the challenge; the king named judges, and himſelf aſſiſted at the conferences with a numerous aſſembly. Mornai endeavoured to prove a multitude of paſſages amaſſed by compilers; ordinary people, who were not very exact, and who, according to the obſervation of Mezerai, did not remember to furniſh good materials, provided that they could but furniſh a quantity. This was an enterpriſe too hazardous for the Calviniſt, who had not given himſelf trouble to examine the originals. Du Perone had all the advantage of the diſpute: it was to have

have been carried on the following days; but a ſudden malady, cauſed perhaps by chagrin, drew Mornai out of this perplexity. During the conference, which he had ſo badly maintained, the king ſaid to Sully, 'Well, what think you of your 'pope?' 'It ſeems to me,' replied he, 'that he is more a pope than you imagine; 'for, is not it apparent to you, that he will 'give a red hat to Monſieur Evreux?' The red hat was in reality the reward of the biſhop. Theſe two antagoniſts, according to the judgment of M. Huet, had both of them more reputation than knowledge. Their rank undoubtedly contributed much to this reputation. That which would be paſſed over in a man of no conſequence, is often admired in one of high ſtation, whoſe glory, of this kind, depends much on thoſe whom he employs.

Whatever zeal Henry had to ſatisfy the people, it was impoſſible, after ſuch violent agitations, to enjoy a perfect tranquillity. A tax laid on by the aſſembly of notables held at Rouen, excited murmurs, murmurs produced ſeditions, on the ſide of the Loire. The preſence of the king, who appeared at Poictiers, his goodneſs, his promiſes, eaſily calmed their minds: from which we may ſee, that they reſpected his authority. He ſignalized his benevolence

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in ſuppreſſing this tax. The perfidy of the marſhal of Biron gave him much more cruel chagrins. This nobleman inherited the vices as well as the military talents of his father. He paſſed for the greateſt general of the kingdom. The ſcars with which he was covered, were glorious marks of his valour; but a boundleſs ambition, a pride and inſupportable arrogance, tarniſhed his glory. The friendſhip and goodneſs of the king, only rendered him more ungrateful. When the duke of Savoy came into France, the marſhal attached himſelf ſtrongly to him, notwithſtanding the advice of his maſter, who ſaid to him one day, 'Do not let this man ap-'proach you; he is contagious; he will 'ruin you.' His intrigues continued, he had entered into a treaty with the duke and with the Spaniard. The king having certain proofs of the conſpiracy, uſed every means in private converſations to engage Biron to acknowledge his crime, reſolving to pardon him if he repented. The haughty fierceneſs and inflexibility of this guilty man obliged him, contrary to his inclinations, to make him an example. Biron was arreſted, tried, and the parliament condemned him to loſe his head. This hero, ſo intrepid in battle, became weak and deſperate at the approach of death.

He

He had the double ſhame of having deſerved that puniſhment, and of not having learned to die. The duke of Bouillon had a ſhare in this plot: they in vain endeavoured to recal him to court; his reſtleſs genius meditated new enterpriſes, which very ſoon broke out. Elizabeth, after the moſt glorious reign that had ever been ſeen in England, died at ſixty-nine years of age, leaving her kingdom to James I. enriched by commerce, and powerful to foreigners through her navy. She left a leſſon to ſovereigns, that authority managed with wiſdom could maintain calmneſs in a ſtate, in ſpite of the diverſity of religions: but all ages reproach her with the death of Mary Stuart. Henry loſt in her an ally from whom he had had great ſupport. The new king, the firſt who united England, Ireland, and Scotland, was of great conſequence in the affairs of Europe. Sully was ſent as ambaſſor to engage him in the intereſt of France. He triumphed over the intrigues of Spain, over the ill-will of the Engliſh miniſter, and concluded a defenſive league, in favour of the United Provinces, who were engaged in continual war with the Spaniards. They alſo renewed an alliance with the Swiſs. Theſe wiſe meaſures ſecured the ſafety of the kingdom.

For

For a long time the pope had ſolicited the re-eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits. It was, according to all appearance, one of the ſecret conditions of the king's abſolution. Father Coton, by his underſtanding, his ſoftneſs, his inſinuating manners, and his ſermons, had gained the good graces of Henry, and did not loſe ſight of the intereſts of his ſociety. Sully, leſs as a Proteſtant than as a miniſter of ſtate, was not willing to admit the Jeſuits; inſiſting particularly on the blind obedience that they were accuſed of ſwearing to their general; but he yielded to this reaſon of his maſter, that if they were capable of bad deſigns, they would at leaſt have leſs to fear from them if they endeavoured to gain them by benefits, rather than provoke them by rigour. The edict of recal was ſent to the parliament. The firſt preſident of Artois oppoſed it with remonſtrances capable of of ſhaking the monarch, had he been leſs firm in his reſolutions. He replied by a diſcourſe very honourable to the Jeſuits, and ordered the regiſtering of them. One of the articles of the edict was, that there ſhould be always at court a religious of this order, in quality of preacher to the king, to anſwer for the conduct of his brethren. Theſe conditions, which appeared humiliating, became the principal ſource of their power.

power. Charged with the conſcience of princes, and able to profit from conjunctures, they very ſoon acquired that dangerous credit which is but little compatible with religious ſimplicity, and more likely to make ſecret enemies than declared partizans. Vows of obedience, in theſe men, could not be pardoned, where a deſire of dominion, and an intriguing diſpoſition, which was the ſole ambition of this body, drew the public hatred on thoſe whoſe talents and virtues would otherwiſe have rendered them truly reſpectable.

We are now arrived at the moſt glorious æra of the reign of Henry IV. The whole kingdom reaped, in the boſom of peace, the fruits of a government full of wiſdom, juſtice, and œconomy. Arts, commerce, and agriculture, inſenſibly made amends for all former misfortunes; three hundred and thirty millions of debts, which, in our times, would make eight hundred and two, did not frighten the zeal of the ſuperintendant *; the indefatigable genius

* In 1607, he had paid off four hundred and fifty-ſeven millions; the financiers had enriched themſelves by the revenues of the ſtate, the fifth part of which had never entered the treaſury. Sully had need of all his underſtanding to ſee through their machinations, and all his courage to reſtrain them.

Theſe

genius of Sully found reſources for every thing. In this age, manufactures of tapeſtry, glazed ſilk, and rich ſtuffs, were much improved. A French colony eſtabliſhed itſelf in Canada. The king, by œconomy in his finances, was enabled to raiſe ſuperb edifices. The gallery of the Louvre and the Pont-neuf, are his works. He began the canal of Briare, which joins the Seine to the Loire. Amidſt all his works, equally noble and uſeful, his unhappy weakneſs for women drew on him new troubles. Madam Entragues, whom he had made marchioneſs of Verneuil, preſerved too much empire over his heart. Queen Maria of Medicis was cruelly wounded by it, and gave herſelf up to the moſt poignant grief. This great prince proved, as well as many others, the bitterneſs of the paſſions. D'Entragues the father, and the marchioneſs of Verneuil, carried their ingratitude ſo far, as to conſpire againſt him, endeavouring to make him perform the promiſe of marriage which he had the imprudence to give. They were proſecuted, condemned, and obtained mercy. On the other ſide,

Theſe harpies had gained credit at court, where the great took advantage of their depredations; but the ſuperintendant feared not making himſelf enemies to ſerve his king and country.

the

the duke of Bouillon, though indebted to Henry IV. for his marriage with the heireſs of Sedan, took every meaſure in his power to raiſe an inſurrection amongſt the Hugonots. The king gaining nothing by fair means, took the reſolution of employing force: he ſet out with his troops: the duke humbled himſelf, and gave up Sedan, which was rendered back to him almoſt immediately.

The quarrel of the Republic of Venice with Paul V. furniſhed the king with a new occaſion for glory. This pope, being too zealous for eccleſiaſtical immunities, which he was willing to ſupport in their ancient extenſion, the Venetians had forbidden the building of monaſteries, and applied the eſtates of the people to the uſe of the church, without the permiſſion of the Senate; they had arreſted a canon and an abbot, who were guilty of enormous crimes. Paul looked on theſe acts of authority as attempts againſt God and againſt the church: his threats and his orders were not heard; the intereſt of the citizens appeared preferable to the pretenſions of the court of Rome. The pope, irritated, threw out thunders and excommunications againſt the doge and the ſenate, and pronounced a general interdiction on the Republic. The Jeſuits alone,

alone, with the capuchins, thought they ought to ſubmit; the firſt, who were more feared than others, were baniſhed. Every thing ſeemed to threaten a war: the pope prepared to execute the cenſures he had denounced, and the Venetians to ſupport the rights of their ſovereignty. Henry IV. that truly Chriſtian prince, offered to mediate betwixt them. For a long time the court of France had loſt its credit at Rome, where Spain had been the favourite power. Nevertheleſs he had the glory of being choſen for mediator, and of terminating the diſpute. Paul V. could not obtain the re-eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits, which was one of the objects he had moſt at heart: they were not recalled till near fifty years after, and they ſtill feel at Venice the effects of their former diſgrace. The title of peace-maker, more worthy of a great prince than that of conqueror, was now reſerved for the king of France. He managed the firſt treaty betwixt Spain and the United Provinces. A furious war, which had laſted for forty years, ſeemed to have rendered them irreconcilable. On one ſide, Maurice the prince of Orange endeavoured to continue it for his own particular intereſt, while the wiſe Barnevelt deſired to put an end to it for the good of his country. On the other,

the Spaniards treating the Hollanders always as rebels, were far from ſatisfying them. The preſident Jeannin, ambaſſador in Holland, fulfilled the beneficent views of Henry IV. By a wonderful negociation, he managed their different diſpoſitions with ſo much addreſs, that all obſtacles diſappeared. Philip III. concluded with the States a truce of a dozen years, acknowledging them for free provinces, over which he pretended no authority. Thus was their liberty and ſovereignty authentically eſtabliſhed; a monument of the courage and protection of France.

We will here mention an anecdote which we are told of theſe redoubtable republicans. It is ſaid, that the ambaſſadors of Spain going to the Hague in 1608, met the deputies of the State ſitting on the graſs eating their dinner; every one had brought their proviſions, which conſiſted of bread, cheeſe, and beer. At this ſight the Spaniards, ſeized with aſtoniſhment, cried out; 'Behold the people who cannot be conquered, and with whom it is then neceſſary we ſhould make peace.'

Nothing was now wanting to complete the happineſs and glory of the king but the ſurmounting the moſt dan-

gerous of all paſſions*. The young prince of Conde was deſirous of marrying the daughter of the marſhal of Montmorency. The charms of that princeſs had, at the ſame time, ſtruck Henry in the moſt lively manner. He diſſembled not his inclination, and by it drew on himſelf freſh troubles. All at once the firſt prince of the blood diſappeared, and carried his wife with him to Bruſſels, where the court of Spain was not wanting in offering him every aſſiſtance. The king was extremely afflicted at this evaſion. The more occaſion he had to reproach himſelf for his licentious love, the more he endeavoured to make amends for it by his care of government, and his great enterpriſes. He very ſoon carried the war into Germany. The houſe of Auſtria diſputed with thoſe of Brandenbourg and Newbourg the ſucceſſion of Cleves and Juliers. In ſupporting the rights of his allies, he took occaſion to lower the Auſtrian power, and reſtrain it within juſt limits. This was undoubtedly the object of his armament. Perhaps he had conceived a project which is

* Among the women whom he loved, we ought to diſtinguiſh Catherine of Rohan. When he made her a declaration of his paſſion, ſhe replied, 'I am 'too poor to be your wife, and of too good a family 'to be your miſtreſs.'

attri-

attributed to him, of forming out of the fifteen European powers, a body called the Chriſtian Republic, which ſhould have his laws, his counſel, his arms, and who ſhould unite together to maintain an equilibrium againſt thoſe who would break it: an admirable project in ſpeculation, but of which there is not one trace remaining, and the execution of which appeared too chimerical for ſo enlightened a prince to flatter himſelf with bringing to any concluſion. On the contrary, the houſe of Auſtria was threatened with almoſt an inevitable revolution. The meaſures were all concerted; forty millions were deſtined for this war, innumerable well diſciplined troops, vaſt proviſions, ſure alliances, with numberleſs forces and reſources, and an experienced and courageous king, who ſaw no enemies in a ſtate where he was the head. He preſſed the departure with extreme impatience. It is ſaid, that forebodings, and very ſenſible uneaſineſs that he felt, plainly indicated ſome fatal ſtroke. Several hiſtorians ſpeak of predictions and preſages, which appear ſo marvellous, that they ſufficiently deſtroy their own credit. It is too certain, though hardly to be credited, that the beſt of kings was aſſaſſinated in the midſt of his people. Ravilliac had, for a long time, contrived the parricide. He

ſeized the opportunity when the coach of Henry IV. was ſtopt, by being intangled with ſome chariots, and plunged his dagger into his breaſt. This villain, born at Angouleme, and who had been novice at the houſe of the Feullans at Paris, was inſpired, like John Chatel, with the fanaticiſm of the league. The name of Hugonot alone made him groan with horror, and he hoped to extirpate his crimes by martyrdom, in murdering a hero whoſe religion ſome madmen ſuſpected. He conſtantly denied his having any accomplices. This was at leaſt the fifth conſpiracy againſt the life of Henry the Great. Two Dominicans of Flanders, and a capuchin brother, of Milan, had come expreſs to kill him, and had been puniſhed with death. Over ſuch deeds we ſhould caſt a veil, to hide them from the knowledge of mankind: they ought to make us abhor the frenzy of falſe zeal, and to make us adore the true maxims of the evangeliſts. If, inſtead of heating their heads by atrocious invectives, they had preached up that mildneſs and Chriſtian charity which characteriſes the moſt holy of all religions, ſhould we then have ſeen a Poltrot, a James Clement, a John Chatel, or a Ravilliac, and an infinite number of others, endeavour, by aſſaſſination, to open to themſelves the gates

of

of Heaven? Would the Calviniſts of France have lighted the fires of civil war to ſupport perſecution? and would the Catholics of England have attempted, in 1605, to deſtroy James I. the royal family, and all the peers of the realm, by the gunpowder plot? an event, which we mention as a new proof of the fatal madneſs which had then ſpread itſelf throughout Europe. The firſt Chriſtians, who mingled not the purity of worſhip and morality with contentious ſyſtems, or ridiculous and arbitrary practices, were the moſt mild, the moſt patient, and moſt humble of men. Are we taught any other faith? or have we any other maxims given us to practiſe?

Henry IV. being a model for men as well as for kings, the deſign of this work permits us to add ſome ſtrokes to the abridgment of his reign. He united to extreme freedom, the beſt directed policy; to the moſt exalted ſentiments, the moſt charming ſimplicity of manners; and to the courage of a ſoldier, an inexhauſtible fund of humanity. (Henault.) Every thing in him ſeemed the expreſſion of an amiable ſoul. Often he converſed familiarly with his ſoldiers and the people, in ſuch manner as ſtill to acquire freſh reſpect. Sometimes ſitting amidſt his guards, he eat a piece

of black bread, in order to teach his troops patience; ſometimes he comforted the peaſants for the miſeries which were brought on them by the league, by declaring that he would ſhare them with them. His greateſt ambition was, to render his ſubjects happy. The duke of Savoy one day demanded of him, at what he valued the revenues of France. 'It is worth what 'I pleaſe,' ſaid he to him: 'yes, what I 'pleaſe; becauſe that, having the hearts 'of my people, I can do what I will. If 'God gives me life, the time ſhall come, 'when there ſhall not be a labourer in my 'kingdom, who has it not in his power 'to have a fowl in his pot; and if ſo,' added he fiercely, 'I ſhall ſtill continue to 'be able to ſupport my ſoldiers in ſubjecting thoſe to reaſon who would deprive me of my authority.' Some peaſants houſes having been pillaged in Champagne, he was told of it, and immediately ſent for the captains, who were at Paris, ſaying to them in a ſevere tone; 'Look 'after them diligently; keep them in order: you will aſk me what I mean. If 'they ruin my people, who will nouriſh me? who will ſupport the public 'charges? who will pay your penſions? 'Gentlemen, as God lives, to take from 'my ſubjects, is taking from me.' He was,

was, nevertheleſs, a friend of his officers as well as the father of his people. The Spaniſh ambaſſador one day teſtified ſome ſurpriſe at ſeeing him ſurrounded by a crowd of gentlemen. 'If you had ſeen 'me in a day of battle,' ſaid he to him, 'they would have preſſed about me ſtill 'more.' This goodneſs did not degenerate into a weak complaiſance: he knew how to refuſe on proper occaſions, and would make them ſee the juſtice of his refuſal. A man of rank once demanded mercy for his nephew, who had been guilty of murder. His reply was that of a good prince who was deſirous of pardoning, but who could not excuſe himſelf from puniſhing where it was deſerved. 'I am very ſorry,' ſays he, 'that I cannot grant what you 'aſk; it becomes you to be the uncle, 'but me to be the king; I excuſe your 'requeſt, do you excuſe my refuſal.' If he was ſometimes prodigal to ill-diſpoſed noblemen, and recompenſed leſs generouſly the ſervices of his faithful captains *; if he

* It is ſurpriſing, that a king ſo warlike, ſuppreſſed, in 1606, the nobility, which was gained by the profeſſion of arms, as Henry III. had ſuppreſſed that which was enjoyed by the poſſeſſion of fiefs. Military ſervices had certainly a particular right to his acknowledgment. Lewis XV. by his edict to the

he eſtabliſhed paulette, a kind of impoſition which perpetuates in families thoſe places which ought to be the reward of merit; if he ſuffered many abuſes to ſubſiſt; if he did not do all the good which might have been done in other times, it was leſs his fault than that of his particular circumſtances. Every thing was to be reformed, every thing was to be renewed; but he conquered and pacified his kingdom; he ſtifled the league and religious wars; re-eſtabliſhed order in his finances; made himſelf beloved by France, and reſpected by foreign powers; in fine, he reigned glorioufly in ſpite of many obſtacles, many diſorders, and many enemies, and was a prodigy which nothing in hiſtory can equal. One of the greateſt objects of his policy, conformable to the principles of Sully, was the enlivening the provinces by agriculture, the true ſource of riches. An enemy to luxury, which has always more inconveniencies than advantages in it in a vaſt monarchy, he diſcredited it by his example and diſcourſes. He incited the noblemen to retire to their eſtates,

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nobles in 1750, eternizes his reign by this new law, as well as by the eſtabliſhment of a military ſchool. Henault.

‘ teaching

'teaching them,' ſays Periſexe, 'that the 'beſt dependance they had was from good 'management.' He rallied thoſe who carried their mills and their high foreſts of trees on their backs, which was one of the knaveate expreſſions of this great king. The ſimplicity of his own habit was a leſſon ſufficient of itſelf. From the time of his abjuration, he had always appeared ſincerely attached to the church. The clergy having made him remonſtrances in 1598, on divers abuſes, eſpecially in the nomination of benefices, he replied; 'That this abuſe was real; that he had 'found it eſtabliſhed; that he hoped to 'reform it, and put the church again 'into a flouriſhing ſtate; but,' continued he, 'do you, on your ſide, contribute a 'little towards it; ſet good examples, 'that the people may be incited to follow 'them; and that you going before, they 'may be turned to the right way. You have 'exhorted me to my duty, I will exhort 'you to yours. Let us mutually do well 'at the deſire of each other.' Unfortunately he did not always find in the eccleſiaſtics that love for virtue which eſtabliſhes itſelf better by example than words; and he would ſometimes ſay, 'I 'know very well what they preach; but

'they do not think that I know what they 'do.'

It was reſerved to the age of Lewis XIV. to reform the manners of the clergy, as well as to poliſh thoſe of the nation. When his moderation and firmneſs to the Calviniſts had, with no little trouble, ſtopped the courſe of their cabals, they one day aſked of him places of ſafety; ſaying, that they had obtained them of the late king. 'I am,' replied he, 'myſelf the 'only aſſurance of ſafety to my ſubjects. I 'have never broken my faith. Henry III. 'you feared and did not love; but me you 'love, and have no reaſon to fear.' His ſyſtem was to gain people's minds by mildneſs, giving for a reaſon, that you might gain more mouths with a ſpoonful of honey, than with a ton of vinegar. He is juſtly reproached with an exceſs of paſſion for women and for play. Theſe are the blemiſhes of a great ſoul. It is rare to find great virtues without ſome mixture of vice. Happy the people whoſe prince makes them forget his faults by his humanity, the wiſdom and the glory of his government. Henry IV. had ſix children by Mary de Medicis, and eight by different miſtreſſes, beſides thoſe which he did not own. All France wept his death: the troubles

troubles with which it was very ſoon agitated, made it ſtill feel, in a greater degree, the misfortune of having loſt him.

LEWIS XIII.

AS ſoon as the noiſe of the aſſaſſination of Henry had reached the Louvre, the queen went out of her cloſet all in tears, and ſaid to the chancellor of Silleri whom ſhe met, The king is dead! 'Madam,' replied that magiſtrate, without taking any notice of her emotion, 'your majeſty 'muſt excuſe me, kings never die in France.' They diſſembled this misfortune, in order to take neceſſary meaſures. Lewis XIII. was then only nine years old; the regency was wanting; the duke of Epernon, one of the noblemen who had been the moſt turbulent under the late reign, ran to the parliament, reſolved to name Mary of Medicis; he ſeated himſelf on the bench by his peers, and putting his hand on his ſword, 'It is as yet in the ſcabbard,' ſaid he, 'but it will ſoon unſheath itſelf, if you

'do not in an inſtant grant the queen's mo-
'ther a title which is her due by the laws of
'nature and juſtice.' The circumſtances demanded quickneſs; the threats of the duke, who was as powerful as haughty, made great impreſſion on the magiſtrates, and the queen was immediately proclaimed regent.

There was now a new form of government which ſeemed to foretel the decay of the kingdom. The queen was governed by the Florentine Concini, and ſtill more by his wife Eleanor Gelagai, who were entirely taken up with making their own fortunes, and had no other regard for France than to enrich themſelves with its ſpoils. The council was a confuſed aſſembly, where no ſalutary meaſures could be reſolved on. They abandoned the great project of Henry IV. who had it at heart to revenge himſelf on the court of Spain: and, on the contrary, they ſhewed the utmoſt deſire to reconcile themſelves with it. In vain Sully endeavoured to ſupport the honour of the nation. A treaty which had been made with the duke of Savoy to aſſiſt him in conquering the Milaneſe was ſhamefully broken, and this prince obliged to aſk pardon of Philip III. The greateſt man who then belonged to the ſtate,

ſtate, the duke of Sully, ever deteſtable to the courtiers and financiers, whoſe injuſtice he had brought to light, and whoſe murmurs he had contemned, too firm to change his views and ſentiments in order to conform to the new court, in a ſhort time loſt all his credit: he ſurrendered his places and retired. Being recalled ſome years afterwards, when they had need of his advice, his dreſs, his manners, which were entirely different from the mode, was turned into ridicule by the young courtiers. 'This is unworthy treatment, Sire,' ſaid he, to Lewis XIII. 'when the king your 'father did me the honour of conſulting 'me, he previouſly ſent away all the buf-'foons and coxcombs of the court.' Sully died in his retirement, in 1641. Such men were made for Henry IV.

Another illuſtrious perſonage, the preſident of Thou, an hiſtorian equal to Titus Livy and Salluſt, was incapable of ſucceeding his relation, Achilles of Harlai, in the place of firſt preſident, becauſe his hiſtory had blaſted the court of Rome. This, among many others, was an evil preſage for the ſtate; when acknowledged merit ſunk under the weight of prejudice and intrigue. In the ſame degree as government grew weak and degenerate, faction and diſcontent became

came audacious: the ſpirit of rebellion, which Henry with difficulty reſtrained, broke out among the proteſtants even in the heart of the court. The prince of Conde, the duke of Vendoſme, and the grand prior of France, natural ſons of the late king; the young duke of Mayenne, the dukes of Langueville, of Guiſe, of Nevers, &c. left the court, and all took to arms. The duke of Bouillon blew up the fire of diſcord; he excited the princes againſt the marquis of Ancre, Concini; 'this baſe Florentine,' ſaid he, 'who has had 'the inſolence to oppreſs us.' The complaints againſt the favourite were caſt indirectly on the queen, who wanted ſtrength and prudence to vanquiſh ſo powerful a party. The malcontents obtained all that they deſired by the treaty of St. Menehoud. One of the principal objects of their demands was a convocation of the States General, which was held at Paris, and produced nothing more than what often happens from ſuch tumultuous aſſemblies, many diſputes and uſeleſs remonſtrances. The clergy ſolicited in very warm terms the publication of the council of Trent. The third ſtate oppoſed it with an equal ardor, and demonſtrated their zeal by demanding that a formal law ſhould be eſtabliſhed, which ſhould prohibit any one power, either

ſpiritual

ſpiritual or temporal, from a right of diſpoſing of the kingdom, or diſpenſing the ſubjects from their oath of fidelity: and that the opinion, that it was lawful to put kings to death, was impious and deteſtable. The clergy agreed, that it was not permitted to kill kings; but oppoſed the foregoing part of the propoſition, and drew the nobility into their ſentiments: ſuch was ſtill the empire of theſe prejudices over men's minds, which are now become deſpicable in the eyes of the French. The cardinal of Perron ſpoke, with a zeal truly Italian, on the temporal power of the popes. In our age he would have thought otherwiſe; but how could they even at that time ſupport ſo pernicious a chimera? How could the court in particular be blind, or cowardly enough, to favour an opinion contrary to ſovereign authority? A proclamation of parliament was ſuppreſſed, by which the independence of the crown was declared a fundamental law of the kingdom. The States preſented them immenſe ſheets which they promiſed to read, but diſmiſſed the aſſembly without doing any thing. It was the laſt of that nature which has been held in France. The parliament, to ſupply the place of it, called together the peers, under the good pleaſure of the king. The end of which was, to conſult in general

on the propoſals which ſhould be for his ſervice, the ſupport of his people, and the good of the ſtate. This proclamation offended the court, and the peers were forbidden to be preſent at the convocation. The parliament made remonſtrances, particularly complaining of the diſſipation of the treaſure of Henry IV. of which there remained but little, of the increaſe of royal expences, and an infinite number of abuſes. 'I have heard your remonſtrances,' replied the king, (who was already declared major) 'and I am not ſatisfied with them; the queen 'my mother will tell you the reſt.' A proclamation from the council decided, that the parliament had no right to take cognizance of the affairs of ſtate. Mary of Medicis ordered the procurator-general Molé to be the bearer of this proclamation; who, after having in vain begged on his knees to be excuſed from that office, ſaid, 'Madam, 'you force me to carry a flambeau that will 'rekindle a fire in the cinders that will 'not be ſoon extinguiſhed, and of which 'we have great reaſon to fear the event.' What event, replied the queen? is it that the people will be rebellious? 'No, madam,' replied Molé; 'but we have reaſon to fear 'a change in their affections, and the de'ſtroying of the great companies of the 'kingdom, who exerciſe juſtice, by which

'kings

'kings reign.' Lewis cut him ſhort by theſe words: 'It is my will, and the queen's 'alſo.' Meanwhile the proclamation of the council remained unexecuted; as the remonſtrances of parliament had no effect. The prince of Conde rebelled anew, and engaged the proteſtants, whom he did not love, to declare themſelves for him: he publiſhed his intention in a violent manifeſto, where the marquis of Ancre, who was now become marſhal of France, was painted in the blackeſt colours. The deſigns of the rebels did not hinder the queen from conducting her ſon to Bourdeaux, to receive Ann of Auſtria, the Infanta of Spain, whoſe marriage with the king had for a long time excited many murmurs. A ſhameful peace ſuppreſſed a civil war: the prince returned with the hope of governing. He was ſtopped in the middle of the Louvre by Themines, who received in recompence the ſtaff of marſhal. The keeper of the ſeals of Vair, the preſident Jeaniri and Villeroi, miniſters of credit, not approving the conduct of the queen, were ſacrificed to the marſhal of Ancre; and Richlieu biſhop of Lucar, his creature, was named ſecretary of ſtate. His ambition had for a long time aſpired to the miniſtry, where he was born to have the greateſt ſucceſs.

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The fourth civil war now broke out under this reign, through the diſcontent of the princes and nobles. The marſhal of Ancre offered to raiſe at his own expence an army of ſeven thouſand men; he who formerly had not ſufficient to pay a domeſtic. His fortune ſufficiently juſtified the cries of the public; but he was not able to ſupport himſelf againſt ſo many ſtorms. The fall of the Italian was as ſtrange as his elevation: princes had not as yet been able to overthrow him; but young de Luines brought about this ſcheme. This gentleman, born in Comtat, had been page to Henry IV. and had inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of Lewis by diſciplining birds of prey. His favour daily increaſed: maſter of the confidence of the king, whoſe weak ſoul ſuffered himſelf always to be governed, he ſuggeſted to him a deſire of withdrawing himſelf from the tutorage of a mother, who reigned under his name, and perſuaded him to begin, by calling to an account the marſhal, who exerciſed all the authority of the queen. Vitri, captain of the body guards, was charged to arreſt him, with orders to kill him if he reſiſted. They took care to interpret this order in ſuch a manner, that Concini did not eſcape death: he was ſhot by a piſtol in entering the Louvre. Vitri imme-

immediately cried out, Long live the king! Lewis appeared at the window, and approved the deed. The captain of the guards was honoured with the ſtaff of marſhal of France. It was an abaſement of theſe great places to beſtow them in ſuch a manner. The duke of Bouillon, ſpeaking of Vitri and Themines, ſaid, (as we are aſſured) 'That he ſhould bluſh to be marſhal, ſince that dignity was the recompence of a ſerjeant and an aſſaſſin.'

For a long time the marſhals of France had commanded the army under the conſtable; their office was formerly moveable, it had been ſo two or three times: Francis I. had created four, and made a rule that they ſhould continue for life. The number had not been fixed ſince his reign. As ſoon as Concini was dead, the queen-mother was made priſoner in the Louvre, and afterwards removed to Blois. Her ſon now ſhewed as much cruelty as he had formerly ſubmiſſion: the marchioneſs of Ancre might have been ſent back into Italy; there was no reaſon for purſuing her, and humanity ſeemed to ſpeak in her favour: nevertheleſs, the parliament was ordered to proſecute her. Sorcery and magic were the principal crimes which were laid to her charge. She and her huſband had, in reality, drawn together a number of

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thoſe impoſtors, who, under the name of aſtrologers and divines, abuſed the credulity of the great. But being interrogated by the commiſſary of parliament on what charms ſhe had made uſe of to faſcinate the queen-mother; ſhe replied, 'The aſcendency 'that a ſuperior ſoul muſt always have over 'a weak one.' The queen had ſo little underſtanding, ſhe ſometimes ſaid, that there was no occaſion for ſorcery in order to govern her. The parliament declared her criminal of an offence to majeſty, human and divine. Without ſpecifying the nature of the laſt crime, ſhe was burnt as one whom they believed a ſorcereſs. A great deal of riches, accumulated by ſelling pardons, made, without doubt, the principal fault for which ſhe died; and they were willing to ſeize on her eſtates and thoſe of the marſhal. The king beſtowed the ſpoil on his favourite. Luines became all at once one of the richeſt noblemen in the kingdom. He alſo married a Rohan, being able to aſpire to any thing under a maſter whoſe will he dictated. In order to cover his intrigues, under an appearance of zeal, he engaged Lewis XIII. to call together an aſſembly of notables at Rouen, where they deliberated on the means of reforming abuſes. This aſſembly was no more than a pretence for continuing taxes; it propoſed

propoſed good laws to which it had not the leaſt regard: the only fruit which the people drew from it, was the ſuppreſſion of the paulette, by an edict which was revoked three years afterwards. Luines had put an end to the civil war by putting Concini to death; but he had ſucceeded to the hatred which was borne that man, by ſucceeding to the fortune which had rendered him odious; and peace could never ſupport itſelf under general diſcontent. The fierce duke of Epernon conſpired with the queen-mother. She flew from Blois, and followed him to Angouleme. They wrote letters to the king full of ſubmiſſion, at the ſame time that they were raiſing troops againſt him. This war ended in a diſhonourable accommodation: they gave the queen the government of Anjou, inſtead of that of Normandy. The duke of Epernon, though guilty of an offence againſt majeſty, preſerved all his places, and might be ſaid in ſome degree to triumph over his ſovereign. Meanwhile the fortune of Luines freed itſelf from all obſtacles. He was already duke, peer and marſhal of France, and it was not at all doubted but he would obtain the place of conſtable, vacated by the death of Henry of Montmorency. The duke of Mayenne had ſaid with great truth,

truth, That it would be very aſtoniſhing a man ſhould be made conſtable who did not know the weight of a ſword. The quality of the favourite ſupplied all deficiency, and Luines very ſoon obtained the place of conſtable. He had procured the deliverance of the prince of Conde, hoping to gain his aſſiſtance to ſupport him againſt jealouſy. This prince did not forget his duty, but factions increaſed every where. The malcontents from all parts crouded to Mary de Medicis, who held her court at Angiers, and who refuſed to return to Paris. The mother and ſon took up arms againſt each other, till a new treaty ſeemed to reſtore tranquillity. This was the work of the biſhop of Lucon, Richlieu, whoſe fortune rapidly advanced. Far from regulating his conduct by the court, or the opinion of his dioceſe, after the fall of Concini, he had affected in his retreat to write books of devotion, while he was waiting an opportunity of rebelling. The queen-mother having occaſion for him, he had made himſelf maſter of her council, through the ſtrength of his genius and policy. It was thought that he ſecretly held a treaty with Luines, with a deſign of accommodating matters to his own intereſt; and that the favourite, in order to gain him, had promiſed him a cardinal's hat.

hat. Richlieu, at leaſt, was of ſome ſervice to the ſtate, at the ſame time that he was working for his own intereſt.

Theſe little civil wars were finiſhed almoſt as ſoon as begun, without producing any thing conſiderable. The diverſity of religion cauſed the moſt obſtinate and moſt bloody conteſts. The zealous Catholics bore with impatience the liberty which the edict of Nantz procured to the Calviniſts: the latter, with a zeal as ardent, increaſed by contradiction, held cabals for the ſupport of their privileges. Lewis XIII. had taken from them the eccleſiaſtical lands of Bern, which had been in their poſſeſſion for ſixty years: he had himſelf ſupported this act of authority which the parliament of Paris had in vain oppoſed. The uneaſineſs of the Religioniſts did not keep itſelf within the bounds of uſeleſs murmurs; their ſeditious aſſemblies proclaimed a revolt: they formed at Rochelle the project of changing France into a republic; the new conſtable flattered himſelf with being able to cruſh them, and war was reſolved on. Dupleſſis Mornai governor of Saumur, one of their moſt important places of ſafety, would not enter into this rebellion. The king went to Saumur. A propoſal was there made to Mornai, to give up his government for one hundred thouſand crowns, and for the marſhal's

marſhal's ſtaff. He fiercely replied, 'That he 'preferred his truſt before ſo many millions, 'and that he was more jealous of deſerving 'the place that he had, than of obtaining 'ever ſo many others by importunities and 'baſeneſs; and that he could not reſolve to 'ſell the liberty and ſafety of his citizens, for 'which he looked upon himſelf to be re-'ſponſible.' The king, nevertheleſs, ordered him to put the place for three months into the hands of another. He obeyed, and never more entered it. The chief of the Calviniſts was the duke of Rohan, attached through conviction to their party, and very capable of ſupporting it by his ſuperior qualities. The duke of Soubiſe, his brother, being ſummoned to render up St. John of Angeli, replied by this billet, 'I 'am the king's very humble ſervant, but I 'do not execute his commands when they 'are not in my power.' The city capitulated; Montaubon was beſieged by Lewis in perſon. The duke of Rohan appeared there, in order to animate the courage of the Calviniſts. 'You have ſworn,' ſaid he, to them, in my preſence, 'the union of the 'churches. This oath is ſacred; you ought 'inviolably to keep it. When there are left 'only two perſons of this religion, I will be 'one of the two: my houſes and my reve-'nues are ſeized, my ſword and my life re-'mains,

'mains, and I will employ them both in 'your defence.' He kept his word in vain: the conſtable, his ally, in a conference which he had with him, would have forced him to enter into an accommodation. The duke, too little ſenſible of his own particular intereſt, inſiſted on a general peace: they continued the ſiege only to have the ſhame of raiſing it: men and women fought on the ramparts with an invincible ardour; while the chiefs of the royal army heard nothing among themſelves, but that Leſdeguieres was not attended to, and that Luines had commanded badly, which was the fault of inexperience. The duke of Mayenne was killed at the ſiege of Montaubon, and ſucceſs inflamed the courage of the rebels. There was ſome memorable enterprize wanting, in order to efface the affront which the king had received before Montaubon; but he ſatisfied himſelf with only beſieging the little city of Monheur. About this time, Luines was attacked with a fever, of which he died at forty-three years old: he was at the ſame time conſtable and maſter of the ſeals, nobody had more addreſs to take advantage of favour. Lewis had already felt that he had given himſelf a maſter; ſeeing him come one day with a kind of affected ſtatelineſs, he ſaid to a lord, Behold the

king who enters! or, according to ſome authors, Behold king Luines! But perhaps he never would have had ſufficient reſolution to break his chains. He complained, but knew not how to reign as valiant as Henry IV.; he was wanting in that ſtrength of mind and courage of ſoul which forms great men and true heroes. The following campaign procured that glory of which he was moſt deſirous; he expoſed himſelf to dangers, and ſeveral times faced death. The marſhal of Leſdeguieres, ſo celebrated for his exploits, ſerved him in quality of conſtable (who had at length ſacrificed his religion to his fortune; for the ſword of conſtable could only be given to Catholics).

Lewis, after divers expeditions in Poitou and in Saintonge, beſieged Montpelier. This city defended itſelf as Montaubon had done, and appeared reſolute in the laſt extremities. A negociation took place, and peace was made on advantageous conditions for the Hugonots: they obtained a confirmation of the edict of Nantz, and all their privileges: the king could not enter Montpelier, but with his guards and Swiſs. A general pardon was paſſed, and eight hundred thouſand livres ordered for the duke of Rohan. The weakneſs of the monarch reduced him to recompence the chiefs of the rebellion. The marquis de

la Force, who had maintained the ſiege of Montaubon, had already been rewarded with two hundred thouſand crowns, and the marſhal's ſtaff. From ſuch treaties, neither ſubmiſſion from the ſeditious, nor zeal from good citizens, could proceed.

During theſe troubles in the kingdom, a religious war had been the cauſe of the ſame misfortunes in Germany: the Proteſtants of Bohemia, having ſhaken off the yoke of the emperor, had given themſelves to the elector Palatine Frederic V. This prince, ſon-in-law to James I. (the puſillanimous king of England) had received no ſuccours from him. The battle of Prague, in 1620, loſt him not only Bohemia, but his own eſtate. Never was a better opportunity for ſubjecting the houſe of Auſtria. Richlieu would not have loſt it, but he no longer governed. Lewis favoured the emperor Ferdinand II. chuſing rather to make war on his own ſubjects than to weaken the power of the natural enemy of his crown. He had need of ſome great genius to correct theſe political blunders: ſuch a one exiſted, and very ſoon removed all the obſtacles which ſtopt his fortune. The queen-mother, from the time of her reconciliation with the king, had re-entered the council, and was deſirous of introducing Richlieu; who at length became

cardinal. The miniſters, fearing his ambition, and more than all, the ſuperiority of of his underſtanding, decried his diſpoſition to Lewis. The gallantries with which they reproached him, could not fail of hurting him in the eyes of a devout prince, too ſuſpicious of others, and too jealous of his own authority not to fear him who had been painted to him as the moſt ambitious of courtiers. Mary of Medicis was not ſo rebuffed; the chancellor of Silleri, and Puizieux his ſon, both of them of an oppoſite party to the Cardinal, were diſgraced; and his enemies had the chagrin to ſee him admitted into the miniſtry. The more he ſecretly deſired this place, the more repugnancy he affected to receive it: his bad health, he ſaid, rendered him incapable of any long conſultations; all that he was able to do, was to aſſiſt in the council from time to time, without mixing in affairs of ſtate. The king was thus deceived; but Richlieu had other views: and ſome years afterwards the royal authority was entirely in his hands. From the time that he entered into the council, the government ſeemed to have changed its policy. They conceived the greateſt deſigns, and took the beſt meaſures. They concluded a marriage between Henrietta of France, the king's ſiſter, and the prince of Wales (Charles

(Charles I.), on condition that that princeſs and her houſehold ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of the Catholic religion, and that their children ſhould be brought up with them till twelve years old. They made a new treaty with Holland, who had taken up arms againſt Spain, and who had torn themſelves to pieces by a theological war; in which the celebrated Barnevelt, the father and defender of his country, had been the victim; the ambition of the prince of Orange having found a pretence for putting him to death.

At length, the expedition of the Valteline, in ſome meaſure, reſtored the honour of France. The king of Spain had taken Griſons, that little province, for fear, as he ſaid, that hereſy ſhould find a paſſage there; but in reality, to make a way for himſelf into Italy. Lewis, till now, had kept within the bounds of the negociation, though the enterpriſe of the Spaniards was contrary to the good of the kingdom: all that he gained by it was, that the pope held in ſequeſtration the places of the Valteline. Richlieu convinced him, that both his glory and intereſt demanded more vigour. This miniſter fiercely declared, in ſpite of the pope, that they ſhould follow other maxims; for that they had no longer madmen in the council. The marquis of Cœuvres,

at the head of an army, entered the Valteline, treated with the inhabitants, and delivered them from the yoke of Spain and Rome.

Before the end of this expedition, the Hugonots had again rebelled: they always complained of the little regard that was paid to the treaties made with them, and their inclination for ſedition never wanted pretences. The dukes of Rohan and Soubiſe animated them by their ſpeeches. Richlieu, already maſter of the government, though not prime miniſter, engaged the Engliſh and Hollanders to turn their arms againſt thoſe whom they ought to have looked on as their brethren. They employed foreign veſſels to fight the fleet of Rochelle, which was more conſiderable than all the marine of France. The rebels were beaten on the ſea, and driven to the Iſle of Rhe. Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, they granted them peace on the ſame conditions as before the cardinal meditated their ruin: but the chief point he laboured at was, to humble the houſe of Auſtria; for to execute this great deſign, he could, he ſaid, diſpenſe with ſcandaliſing himſelf to the world once more, by appearing favourable to the heretics, for which he was ſtigmatiſed by libels full of malice and fanaticiſm. He was called the Cardinal

Cardinal of Rochelle, the Pontiff of the Calviniſts, the Patriarch of the Atheiſts. Theſe kinds of injuries are the arms of people who have but little reaſon; and the beſt reply to make to them, is contempt. Richlieu, by ſhewing himſelf too ſenſible of them, increaſed their ſtrokes of ſatire, which obſtinately purſued him. At length a treaty was concluded with Spain, on the ſubject of the Valteline, which reſtored them Griſons, and finiſhed this war; the concluſion of which was ſo much deſired by Richlieu, for the ſake of confirming the royal authority and power.

Before he acted abroad, he propoſed ſtifling the factions at home. The princes and great people about court were become too powerful, under a king who knew not how to reſtrain them: maſters in their governments, they held cabals. Gaſton, duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis, had a party: the marſhal of Ornano, his governor, had irritated him againſt his ſovereign and the miniſter. He formed a plot to aſſaſſinate Richlieu. It was thought that Gaſton pretended both to the crown and the wife of his brother.

Now began the rigours which made this reign like that of Lewis XI. Ornano was put in priſon; Meſſrs. de Vendoſme were arreſted; Chalais, maſter of the

guard robe, was judged at Nantz, and died on a ſcaffold. The apartment of queen Ann of Auſtria, if we may believe Baſſompierre, was forbidden to men in the abſence of the king; whoſe averſion for her from that time became inſurmountable. Gaſton conſented to marry the heireſs of Monpenſier, and be reconciled with Lewis. This was only ſtifling his enmity for a moment, which burſt out with freſh violence, when excited by his conſidents. The danger which the cardinal had run, made him have a company of guards to attend his perſon: he was become neceſſary to the king, and when he demanded to retire, he at the ſame time forced the monarch to retain him. This artful courtier offered to yield the dignity of miniſter to Baruda, a new favourite (for he himſelf was always one); but the favourite which he diſliked was very ſoon ſacrificed to the miniſter. His power increaſed ſtill more by the ſuppreſſion of the places of admiral and conſtable. Leſdeguieres was dead, and his poſt was not filled up, becauſe a conſtable had been too powerful. The duke of Montmorency gave up the admiralty, and obtained a million of money as a recompence. The cardinal, under the title of ſuperintendant of the navigation, was maſter of the marine; which

which was entirely ruined. He felt the neceſſity of re-eſtabliſhing it, and made it the object of his cares to authoriſe the changes which he meditated. They convoked an aſſembly of notables: it was there repreſented, that the revenues amounted to no more than thirteen millions, and that the annual expences were near fourteen: that they ought to leſſen the goings out, and increaſe the comings in: that the king ought to make conſiderable retrenchments in his private expences, to endeavour to give life to commerce, and encourage the marine; to prevent the diſſipation of the finances; and to endeavour to be ſparing himſelf, without taking from the people. Richlieu made his propoſals, and wiſely ſaid, That he ſhould endeavour leſs to make laws than to procure an actual execution of what were made: that he hoped rather to act than talk. The whole aſſembly approved of all, except one demand, which he had not made, if it could have been approved of; it was that of moderating the puniſhments made uſe of againſt ſtate-criminals. He endeavoured to gain the reputation of mildneſs, which his conduct continually contradicted. Though he pardoned ſtate-criminals, yet he was inexorable to the counts of Chapelles and Boutteville, noble-

men diſtinguiſhed by their bravery, whoſe only crime was that of having fought duels: their heads were cut off in 1627. The rage for duels at that time made terrible ravages: they reckoned near eight thouſand letters of mercy granted in leſs than twenty years to gentlemen who had killed others in ſingle combat. This was what had determined Henry IV. to renew the prohibition againſt duels; but imbibing, perhaps, himſelf certain prejudices on the ſide of bravery, he winked on the infringements of the law. The ſeverity of Lewis XIII. or rather of Richlieu, ſeemed neceſſary to extirpate this abuſe; nevertheleſs it was not in their power to put a ſtop to it. Humanity and reaſon have more force than laws againſt a barbarous prejudice: it ſoftens the manners of mankind, and makes them ſee the abſurdity of a point of honour which ſullies them with murder, and renders them guilty of injuſtice.

While the cardinal of Richlieu diſpoſed of every thing in the kingdom as he pleaſed, the duke of Buckingham, miniſter and favourite to Charles I. engaged England in a war againſt France. The French Catholics who accompanied Henrietta to London, had given much umbrage to the Engliſh by the imprudence of their zeal.

It

It was a ſubject of complaints and perſecutions; but the vanity of Buckingham alone was the cauſe of the rupture betwixt the two crowns. He was infatuated by a romantic paſſion for queen Anne of Auſtria. He had dared to make a confeſſion of it, and wiſhed to return to Paris, under pretence of ſigning a treaty againſt Spain, in order to be nearer the object of his love. Lewis XIII. refuſed him permiſſion. Piqued at this refuſal, and jealous of the cardinal, he reſolved upon a war, excited the Rochellers to a new revolt, and himſelf failed to aſſiſt them. The temerity of the Engliſh miniſter was the ruin of Rochelle. Richlieu undertook to ſubject this bulwark of Calviniſm. Buckingham, as bad a general as he was an audacious courtier, was beaten at the Iſle of Rhe, where the marquis of Thoiras purſued the Engliſh. Rochelle was inveſted: famine would have forced them to yield; but how could the gates be ſhut againſt the Engliſh fleet? Richlieu imitated Alexander. He conſtructed in the ocean a prodigious bank, the deſign of which was looked upon as chimerical. Lewis left him commander of the ſiege, in quality of general. He, on this occaſion, gave an example how much genius could ſupply the want of experience, even in war; or-

der, diſcipline, and abundance, was not wanting. The cardinal aſtoniſhed the ſoldiers by his valour, and his captains by his addreſs; nevertheleſs Rochelle ſeemed invincible. The people had elected for their mayor, a man ſuperior to all danger. Guiton, that was the name of this intrepid magiſtrate, after ſome reluctance, accepted of the charge aſſigned him: taking a poignard, and ſhewing it to the citizens, 'I will be mayor, ſince you will have it 'ſo,' ſaid he, 'on condition that I ſhall 'plunge this poignard into the breaſt of 'the firſt man who talks of ſurrendering, 'and they ſhall make uſe of it againſt me, 'if I make any propoſals of capitulation; 'for this uſe, I inſiſt that it be always 'left upon the council table.' The ſiege was drawn out for a length of time. The Engliſh had ſhewed themſelves without doing any thing; but Buckingham was embarking with a more powerful army, when a fanatic Iriſhman aſſaſſinated him. All the horrors of famine were at length felt by the inhabitants of Rochelle, which made them refuſe to feed any uſeleſs people. An infinite number of wretched creatures periſhed with miſery and deſpair. When it was repreſented to the mayor, that there would very ſoon remain no more than a handful of inhabitants. 'Very 'well,'

'well,' replied he, without being at all moved, 'it is ſufficient that there remains 'one to ſhut the gates.' Guiton declared in full council, that he would, if they choſe it, be killed, and give his body for their nouriſhment, rather than conſent to ſurrender to the enemy. His boldneſs was ſeconded by the fanaticiſm of the miniſters. The mother and ſiſter of the duke of Rohan, martyrs to their ſect, gave the example of an heroic patience; but the Engliſh fleet, ſo long expected, not being able to force the bank, and having been repulſed, all hope of ſuccour vaniſhed with them, hunger damped the courage of the Rochellers, and they ſurrendered, after eleven months reſiſtance. The king returned to the ſiege, and ſignalized himſelf there by his valour; the cardinal, nevertheleſs, ſaid, that he had taken Rochelle in ſpite of the king of Spain, the king of England, and more eſpecially the king of France. The enemies of this miniſter ſtrongly endeavoured to give to Lewis the praiſe of ſo glorious an enterpriſe. The chief part of the great men, more attached to their fortune than the good of the ſtate, feared the ruin of a party from which they could, on occaſion, draw ſuch great advantages; and the marſhal of Baſſompiere dared publickly to ſay,

'We

'We ſhall, perhaps, find ourſelves ſuffi-
'ciently fooliſh in taking Rochelle. This famous city, who, through its power and its rebellion, had rendered itſelf of conſequence to its ſovereigns for above two hundred years, always ready to riſe againſt them in the moſt critical circumſtances, was no longer maſter of its laws or the exerciſe of its religion. Its fortifications were raſed, and its privileges aboliſhed. It had coſt fourteen millions to reduce it to obedience. The loſs of it had given Calviniſm a mortal ſtroke; but it again raiſed its head through the firmneſs of the duke of Rohan; a man the moſt proper to be the ſoul and the ſupport of a party.

They continued the war in Languedoc. Lewis, in the meanwhile, went to the ſuccour of the new duke of Mantua, a prince devoted to France, againſt whoſe ſtate, the emperor, the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy, had united. He himſelf in perſon forced the paſs of Suza, took that city, delivered Caſſel, which was beſieged by the Spaniards, and returned triumphant to ſubject the Hugonots. A treaty concluded with England left them no hope of ſuccour. The duke of Rohan was reduced to extremity, and forced to ſue for peace. That lord, whom the parliament of Toulouſe had executed in effigy,

effigy, obtained, notwithſtanding, the abolition of all that was paſſed for the rebels, and one hundred thouſand crowns for himſelf; but it was exacted of him to go out of the kingdom until the king ſhould order it otherwiſe. The Calviniſts having loſt their ſtrong places, had no longer power to wreſtle with the monarch. If France had not had a Richlieu, they would, perhaps, have executed that grand project of a republic, of which they ſaw a model in the United Provinces. Liberty of conſcience was, however, not reſtrained; temples and preachers ſubſiſted; every one was left at liberty to follow his religion without troubling the ſtate; and this was not the ſmalleſt fruit of the cardinal's policy.

Theſe glorious enterpriſes executed, could not fail of irritating the jealouſy and hatred of his enemies. Arriving at court, he was ill-received by the queen-mother, whoſe confidence he had hitherto enjoyed. The cardinal of Berulle, founder and general of the oratory, at that time governed her, and gave her an ill opinion of the miniſter. When he appeared, this princeſs coldly enquired after his health. 'I am very well,' replied he, in preſence of Berulle, 'though thoſe who are here would 'not have it ſo.' Nevertheleſs the king, more through policy than affection, gave him

him the patent for prime miniſter, and the title of lieutenant-general of the army of Italy, with ſuch vaſt power, that ſome of the wags about court ſaid, he reſerved to himſelf only the art of curing the king's evil.

While Richlieu made war in Italy for the duke of Mantua, and endeavoured, by his negociations, to undermine the houſe of Auſtria, Mary of Medicis redoubled her efforts to ruin him. He expected to be the victim. Lewis being dangerouſly ill at Lyons, the continual intreaties and importunities of his mother tore from him a promiſe of ſending the cardinal away; and every one expected a change of ſcenes which would overturn the kingdom. As ſoon as Richlieu heard it, he endeavoured by every means to reconcile himſelf. He threw himſelf often at the feet of the queen, without being able to make any impreſſion on her. 'I will 'rather give myſelf to the devil,' ſaid ſhe, 'than not be revenged.' The king, much diſpleaſed with this diſcourſe, had, notwithſtanding, ſo little reſolution as to yield. The miniſter, ſome time afterwards, ſaw the moment approach of inevitable diſgrace. He was on the point of taking leave; he had already ſecured his treaſures in a place of ſafety; the favourite, St. Simon, at that moment, brought

brought him word, that his maſter was deſirous of ſeeing him once more. He immediately ran to Verſailles, while Mary de Medicis imprudently triumphed in her palace of Luxembourg. The ſtorm was immediately diſſipated, and Richlieu was received as a regretted friend. 'Continue 'to ſerve me as you have done,' ſaid the monarch to him, 'and I will ſupport you 'againſt all the intrigues of your enemies.' This day was called the Day of Dupes. There has been ſcarcely ſeen, in the courſe of the hiſtory, a revolution more ſingular, or more fatal to thoſe who believed themſelves in the height of favour. Marilac, the keeper of the great ſeals, the marſhal of Marilac, his brother, both creatures of Mary de Medicis, hoped to ſucceed to the credit of the firſt miniſter; but they felt all the weight of his vengeance: one was forced to render back the ſeals; and the other was arreſted in Italy, in the midſt of the army which he commanded. His long ſervices, his wounds, his fidelity, it might be imagined, would have put a ſtop to ſuch a criminal procedure; but Richlieu was willing to make him a terrible example; and commiſſaries were named to proſecute the marſhal. In vain the parliament pretended to have a right of judging him: authority ſuſpended the ordinary courſe of juſtice; and they

they ſhewed ſo little candour on this occaſion, that they choſe, among the number of the judges, the author of a cruel ſatire againſt the Marilacs. This famous proceſs, which laſted two years, turned only on the extortions and illicit profits of which the marſhal had been ſometimes guilty, beyond the example of almoſt all his equals. His ſentence was pronounced at the miniſter's country-houſe: he was there condemned to the puniſhment of ſtate-criminals. 'It is a ſtrange thing,' ſaid he, 'that they have purſued me in the manner they have done. They have talked 'of nothing in my proſecution but of my 'hay, of wood, of ſtones, of ſtraw, and 'of chalk. It is not what they would 'chaſtiſe a lacquey for. A man of my 'quality accuſed of fraud!'—The enemy of a vindictive and a powerful miniſter was, in the eyes of the commiſſaries, an enemy of the king. His head was cut off in 1632. The greateſt number of the authors of theſe days aſſure us, that Richlieu ſaid at the ſame time: 'It muſt 'be confeſſed, that God gave to the 'judges lights which others had not; for 'it can never be imagined that there ap-'peared ſufficient cauſe to condemn the 'marſhal of Marilac to death.' If he really talked in this manner, it was undoubtedly

doubtedly in order to throw on the judges the odium of this affair: but theſe words could not impoſe on the public; they ſaw plainly, that his reſentment had dictated the judgment which had paſſed. If he had ſincerely deſired at any time to leſſen the puniſhment of ſtate-criminals, why did he not aſk mercy for a lord whom he believed not worthy of death? It was a deplorable fatality, that public intereſt could not extinguiſh perſonal hatred; and that the miniſter neceſſary to a king, was a ſubject of diſcord in the royal family. The two queens were furious againſt him. The duke of Orleans, after a falſe reconciliation, declared himſelf his mortal enemy, and retired into Lorrain, under pretence of flying from his tyranny.

Nothing but diſſentions were to be ſeen at court. Richlieu, though he owed his fortune to Mary de Medicis, was forced, by his circumſtances, to become her perſecutor. Lewis took part againſt his mother, on the ſide of a ſubject who was of uſe to him: he left her priſoner at Compeigne; and baniſhed or arreſted her friends and domeſtics. The marſhal of Baſſompiere, on the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, was ſhut up for a dozen years in the Baſtile. Thoſe who followed the duke of Orleans, were declared criminals againſt majeſty, and the parliament

parliament treated them with rigour. The cardinal raiſed himſelf more and more on the ruins of his adverſaries: the lands of Richlieu were erected into a dutchy for him and his family: Bruſſels, where the queen-mother had taken refuge, threw out an infinite number of atrocious libels againſt this miniſter; but theſe ſtrokes, given him at a diſtance, did him the leſs wrong as the ſucceſs of his policy was more brilliant. He terminated the war in Italy by advantageous treaties. The duke of Mantua was re-eſtabliſhed, and the duke of Savoy had yielded Pignerole. The grand project of abaſing the houſe of Auſtria began to be executed. Ferdinand II. in ordering the reſtitution of the Catholic eſtates, which had been taken by the Proteſtants, drew into his arms a part of Germany; and Richlieu, in ſpite of the clamours of the Catholics, animated the Proteſtant alliance, which was favourable to his project. Religion was the people's motive for war, and reaſons of ſtate determined the politicians. The moſt powerful of the Lutheran princes, the famous Guſtavus Adolphus king of Sweden, was armed againſt the emperor: his victories ſhook the foundation of that monarch's dominions. France furniſhed money, and the valour of Guſtavus did all the reſt.

Gaſton

Gaſton, aſſiſted by the duke of Lorrain, whoſe ſiſter he had married, diſpoſed himſelf to civil war, to be revenged on the cardinal, who, in the meanwhile, was not ignorant of all his ſteps: he had ſpies every where who ſerved him zealouſly, becauſe their ſervices were well rewarded. The correſpondence of Monſieur (for ſo they called the king's brother) with the queen-mother, and the court of Spain; his intrigues to engage the noblemen to a rebellion; his obſtinacy, and his invectives, could not remain unpuniſhed under a government firm and ſevere. The duke of Lorrain was the firſt victim: the king ſeized ſome of his beſt places, and made him promiſe, by two treaties, to abandon Gaſton entirely. This laſt mentioned prince had now no other reſource but the duke of Montmorency, governor of Languedoc, one of the braveſt and moſt amiable noblemen of his time, brother-in-law to the prince of Conde. Happy would it have been for him could he have bounded his deſires; but he would fain have been conſtable; and he complained of the court, whoſe ambition would not grant him all that he wiſhed. The duke of Orleans having drawn him into his party, took the rout to Languedoc with ſome foreign troops: he publiſhed a manifeſto againſt the miniſter,

ſter, giving himſelf the title of lieutenant-general to the king, for the reformation of the diſorders introduced into the kingdom by cardinal Richlieu. Gaſton, ſtill more weak than his brother, gave himſelf up to his favourites, without their having any merit, imagining that a manifeſto, and three or four thouſand ſoldiers, would very ſoon draw after him a crowd of partizans. No perſon ſtirred in his favour: the cities cloſed their gates againſt him: his little army ſubſiſted only on rapine.

Richlieu kept all in obedience, either through fear or a ſenſe of duty. Montmorency, exhauſted by debts, could not, on his ſide, aſſemble many troops, nor make any conſiderable party. As ſoon as he arrived in Languedoc, the prince was purſued by the royal army; a ſkirmiſh rather than a battle finiſhed the war, on the day of Caſtelnaudari. The impetuous Montmorency having paſſed a mote almoſt alone, threw himſelf in the midſt of the ſquadrons of the marſhal of Scomberg, and received a wound from a piſtol in the mouth, and fell, covered with wounds, after having fought in a furious manner. Gaſton, whether through cowardice, or whether through deference for his favourites, retired without fighting, though he had the advantage of numbers; and

Scomberg

Scomberg did not think it adviſable to purſue any further the preſumptive heir of the crown. This deciſive day brought propoſals of a peace. The king pardoned his brother, who promiſed to remain faithful to him, and to love the cardinal. The hope of obtaining mercy for the duke of Montmorency, inſpired theſe vain promiſes; but Richlieu knew not what clemency was, and he was determined to frighten the great by an inflexible ſeverity. The priſoner at once ſaw his danger: a ſurgeon felicitated him that his wounds were not dangerous. 'You deceive yourſelf,' ſaid he to him, 'for there is not one, not even the 'ſmalleſt, but what is mortal.' The parliament of Toulouſe received orders to loſe no time in proſecuting him. All efforts imaginable were uſed to incline the king to favour a man who was moſt beloved in France. Naturally ſevere, and excited to rigour by the advice of his miniſter, he ſhut his ears to their prayers: 'I ſhall not be 'a king,' replied he, 'if I have particular 'feelings.' The conſtancy with which the marſhal of Montmorency ſubmitted to his fate, increaſed the regret of the court and the public. He would not endeavour to decline the juriſdiction of Toulouſe. 'My part is reſolved on,' ſaid he, at once; 'I will never gain my life by 'chicanery.'

'chicanery.' On the day of execution, the ſtreets of Toulouſe, even the apartment of Lewis XIII. which was in this city, rang with groans. The illuſtrious victim confeſſed his crime, and repented of it. His pardon would have gained all hearts: his death increaſed their hatred againſt the authors of it. Gaſton quitted France in a fury, and retired to Bruſſels, accuſing his brother of having broke his word. It is thought that the king had really promiſed to ſhew mercy to the marſhal; but it had not been ſtipulated by treaty: and it appeared, that the diſcontented princes took vague words for poſitive promiſes. Some biſhops of Languedoc, who had embraced his party, were judged by the pope's commiſſaries. There were only two depoſed. The archbiſhop of Alba, having had great part in the rebellion, might have expected a more rigorous treatment; and the cardinal would not, undoubtedly, have ſpared him, if he had not been a great lord. The whole kingdom trembled; exiles, impriſonments, and executions, increaſed every day.

Richlieu braved hatred, and always followed the plan of policy which he had laid down. Guſtavus, with his ſuccours, cruſhed in Italy the powerful Auſtrian.

This

This hero was killed at the battle of Lutzen. The Swedes were not to be conquered. A new treaty was made with the king of Sweden, ſupporting the Proteſtant alliance, and at the ſame time encouraging to rebellion the celebrated Valſtein, general to the emperor. The genius of the cardinal ſeemed to move all Europe in what manner he pleaſed. Meanwhile the duke of Lorrain, more through lightneſs of character than zeal for the houſe of Auſtria, again violated his promiſe, and drew on himſelf a freſh ſtorm. The king took Nantz, and reſolved to keep it until he could return it unto Margaret of Lorrain, whom Gaſton had ſecretly married. The marriage had been performed in preſence of witneſſes, with the conſent of the duke and the princes of his houſe. The univerſity of Lorrain had declared it indiſſoluble; but the doctors of Paris declared it null, as contrary to the laws of the ſtate, for want of the king's conſent; a conſent the more indiſpenſible, as Gaſton was ſtill preſumptive heir to the crown. The parliament broke this marriage; but Gaſton remained firm to it, notwithſtanding his weakneſs and inconſtancy of mind. The bonds which he had entered into with Spain, made him de-

ſire to return into that kingdom. Perilaurens, his favourite, gained by the offers of the miniſter, brought him back, and obtained as a reward the niece of Richlieu, with the dignity of duke and peer. Too proud of his elevation, and faithleſs to his engagements, he confirmed the duke of Orleans in the deſign of ſupporting his marriage, in which not having the cardinal's approbation, he might be ſaid to run on certain ruin. The new duke was put into the Baſtile, where he died ſome time after. Gaſton forgot him the moment he was diſgraced: if ſuch is the general friendſhip of the great, it is not aſtoniſhing that people attach themſelves to their fortunes rather than their perſons.

In the midſt of cabals and conſpiracies, which were inceſſantly forming againſt Richlieu, he meditated new enterpriſes againſt the houſe of Auſtria: it was the means of rendering himſelf more and more neceſſary to the king, who was incapable of ſupporting alone ſo great an undertaking. By a treaty concluded with Holland, they engaged themſelves to make war with the king of Spain, Philip IV. if he did not give ſatisfaction on different grievances of which France complained. They projected the conqueſt of the Low Spaniſh

nish Countries; and were so sure of success, as to make the division before they began the campaign. Philip IV. informed of this design, surprised the city of Trieves, where the elector was taken prisoner, under pretence that he had violated the law of nations, with regard to a prince who was a friend to France. The king sent to him to declare war by a herald, a ceremony which had not been practised for a long time. A French army marched into the Low Countries, while the cardinal of Vallette took the command in Germany. They were not able to succeed at once, either in Germany or in Flanders. The Flemings remained faithful, because the Spanish government, either more moderate or more wise than under Philip II. let them enjoy their privileges. The Hollanders acted feebly, for fear that the Republic should not become the frontier of the kingdom. The cardinal of Vallette being in want of provisions, was obliged to return immediately: a like famine had rendered the expedition to the Low Countries fruitless. Lewis complained bitterly of the little success of his arms; but Richlieu managed with so much address, that these complaints did him no harm. He had the wisdom to recal the duke of Rohan, whose superior

talents were at length employed in the ſervice of the ſtate. This great general ſeveral times beat the Spaniards in the Valteline, and ſhewed as much zeal for his ſovereign as he had done for the Proteſtant party.

As war exhauſted the finances, they had recourſe to pecuniary edicts. The king, in a bed of juſtice, made them be regiſtered forty-two times, without their being read or examined. Two days after, ſome members of parliament demanded an examination of the edicts: they particularly complained of the creation of ſeveral new places. This means of getting money, was always the leaſt conformable to true policy: it degraded magiſtracy by multiplying judges, who were already too many in number. The parliament made remonſtrances; a hazardous ſtep under ſo abſolute a miniſter. Five magiſtrates were at once baniſhed: the remonſtrances were afterwards received, and the court made ſome ſlight alteration in its orders. Urban VIII. was much diſſatisfied with the cardinal of Vallette, whom he accuſed of fighting againſt the Catholics on the ſide of the Proteſtants, and forbid him any longer to command the German army. Richlieu complained highly

highly of it, and quoted the example of cardinal Infant, who commanded the Spaniſh troops. The pope replied, That one attacked the Heretics and the other the Catholics: to which it was anſwered, That religion was not concerned in this war. Vallette was ſupported in the command; but the pope from thence ſeized the occaſion of mortifying the miniſter, by refuſing to conſecrate a hat for father Joſeph Tremblai, that famous capuchin, the confident of Richlieu, who was employed not only in the greateſt part of court intrigues, but in negociations with foreign powers. A capuchin could not help meddling in the affairs of ſtate; and cardinals marched at the head of the army. Theſe extravagances demonſtrate too great a careleſſneſs with regard to Chriſtian benevolence.

On the other ſide, violent diſputes between the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, Sourdis, with the duke of Epernon and the marſhal Vitry, gave offence to the whole kingdom. The ſecretary of ſtate wrote to the cardinal of Vallette: 'My lord archbiſhop of Bourdeaux has taken a great 'prize from the marſhal of Vitry; but he 'has received ſome twenty ſtrokes from a 'cane or cudgel, whichever you pleaſe to

'call it. I believe he has a deſign of 'fighting with the whole world, and to 'fill France with excommunications.' This warlike archbiſhop affectedly revenged himſelf by cenſures, with as little decency as he ſhewed in his quarrels.

To repair the ill ſucceſs of the laſt campaign, Richlieu adopted a new plan, which again failed in execution. Though the French county had made a treaty of neutrality with France, he undertook the conqueſt of that province, under pretence of ſome infractions which had been ſufficiently juſtified. The prince of Conde was appointed to beſiege Dole, a place, it was ſaid, which could not hold out above ſeven or eight days; but when the inhabitants were ſummoned to ſurrender, they replied, 'Nothing obliges us to it. After 'a year's ſiege we will deliberate on what 'reply we ſhall make you.' This was not a vain rhodomontade; their reſiſtance very ſoon diſconcerted the French. A capuchin, who conducted the artillery of the city, wonderfully ſeconded the valour of the beſieged. Meanwhile the Spaniards entered the Low Countries in Picardy, and in a few days took Chapelle, Corbie, and Catelet. Richlieu had neglected to fortify this frontier. He im-

puted to the commanders a loſs which was attributed by the reſt of the world to his own negligence. Terror ſpread itſelf through Paris and the court; but zeal reanimated them in this peril. The whole body were eager in offering their aſſiſtance to the king. Lewis gave audience to their deputies; he embraced theſe bunglers, through the force of adverſity, which, as an author of the times obſerves, humbles all men. They ſent orders to the prince of Conde to raiſe the ſiege of Dole after three months uſeleſs efforts, and thought of nothing but driving the enemy from the kingdom.

In theſe ſad circumſtances, Richlieu having drawn on himſelf the utmoſt hatred, was on the point of quitting the miniſtry, when Father Joſeph encouraged him, and perſuaded him to ſhew himſelf without guards in the principal ſtreets of Paris. Whether it calmed the people by an air of confidence, or whether it ſtruck them with an awe, by letting them ſee that he feared nothing, the event juſtified this counſel. The cardinal flattered the people, and received from them repeated benedictions. 'Very well,' ſaid the capuchin to him on his return, 'have I not rightly 'ſaid, that you are nothing more than a 'wet hen, and that with a little courage

'and firmneſs you may re-eſtabliſh af-'fairs?' More powerful enemies wove a thread for the deſtruction of the miniſter. The duke of Orleans and the count de Soiſſons, who commanded the army in Picardy, reſolved to have him ſtabbed, even in the very houſe of the king, as he was coming from council. The moment for execution was come: the aſſaſſins only waited for a ſignal from Gaſton, when that prince, ever changing and irreſolute, was ſhocked all at once with the idea of being reckoned an aſſaſſin; he retired with precipitation, and Richlieu, without knowing it, eſcaped the danger of an inevitable death. The plotters could not be long unknown. The two princes quitted the court; a new ſubject for inquietude to the cardinal, at a time when enemies without doors were too much to be feared. He entered into an accommodation, and the king, in order to regain his brother, promiſed to give his ſanction to his marriage with Margaret of Lorrain.

The Spaniards were driven from Picardy. The cardinal of Vallette and the duke of Weimar repulſed the duke of Lorrain and the imperialiſts, who had penetrated into Burgundy. There was, notwithſtanding, always one great obſtacle

to

to the ſucceſs of his arms, the want of money. The not putting in execution the laſt edicts, by which they created new places of judicature, irritated Lewis againſt the parliament. He made very lively reproaches to the deputies of that body. 'The money that I aſk of you,' ſaid he, 'is not to play with, not to throw away 'in fooliſh expences; it is not for my-'ſelf that I aſk it, it is for my ſtate; it 'is to puniſh thoſe who contradict my 'will, and do me more injury than the 'Spaniards. You ſee I have occaſion for 'you, and you are obſtinate; but I will 'find means of being revenged.'

The œconomy of Henry IV. would have anſwered the end better than all theſe reſources. Unfortunately it did not agree with the ſtate of Richlieu: the expences of his houſe alone abſorbed four millions every year: he had lived like a king, and entirely eclipſed the ſplendour of the throne. Lewis often taking notice of theſe particulars, was what perhaps engaged the cardinal to make him a preſent of the palace which he had built, which is now the palace-royal, and in which magnificence ſhines forth in the greateſt heighth. He is continually reproached by poſterity, with not having managed the revenues of

the ſtate as Sully had done, and with having made ſumptuary laws for others, without ſetting any bounds to his own luxury. The want of finances made him loſe the Valteline: they were not able to ſend ſubſidies to the duke of Rohan, who had rendered himſelf maſter of it: he was therefore obliged to abandon this important conqueſt and retire to Geneva, for fear that the miniſter ſhould puniſh in him a misfortune which was cauſed by himſelf.

The little intrigues at court gave more inquietude to Richlieu than the events of war. He had given Lewis father Cauſin as a confeſſor. He was the author of a book of devotion, which is now laughed at. The cardinal believed him a ſimple man, incapable of creating any troubles, and who would eaſily enter into all his views; but it happened that, in a little time, the ſimplicity of this Jeſuit changed the face of government. His prejudices made him look on the alliances with the Proteſtants againſt the houſe of Auſtria, as an abominable thing: he dared attribute it to the ambition of the cardinal: he accuſed him of loading the people with taxes, of treating the queen-mother inhumanly, who lived at Bruſſels in want of every thing, and of rendering the government odious by his injuſtice.

injuſtice. The devout monarch lent a willing ear to the diſcourſe of the imprudent confeſſor. He loved to hear the miniſter declaimed againſt; he was the firſt to blame him in ſecret; he deſcended to the more minute detail of his private life, and found every thing bad: for example, that he never ſaid the breviary, though he had ſo many benefices. The conſolation of weak ſouls is to complain without the power of acting. Lewis would very ſoon have ſunk under the yoke of the cardinal, and ingeniouſly confeſſed, that he did not dare to ſpeak of certain things; nevertheleſs, ſcruples agitated him, and the confeſſor gained ground; but Richlieu did not ſleep. In a diſcourſe which he had with the king, he, without much trouble, through the ſtrength of reaſon and eloquence, diſpelled the impreſſions which the Jeſuit had made on his flexible mind. He revenged himſelf by the baniſhment of Cauſſin, who carried nothing but blame with him to his own country. He obliged, at the ſame time, the dutcheſs of Savoy to ſend back to court father Monord, another Jeſuit, confeſſor to that princeſs, who had, it is ſaid, more wit and malice than Cauſſin had ſimplicity and ignorance. Monord openly attacked him. His diſ-

grace was a ſtate affair; for the miniſter had no way of ſupporting himſelf but by ſtraining authority. The Jeſuits had need of all their addreſs and credit to prevent the ſtorms which theſe raſh confeſſors drew on them.

War, raiſed in Europe through the policy of the cardinal, produced an infinite number of events, the detail of which furniſhes no inſtruction. The duke of Weimar at length fixed his fortune by gaining the battle of Rheinfeld, where four generals belonging to the emperor were made priſoners. The French arms were leſs happy, and the prince of Conde ſucceeded no better at the ſiege of Fonterabrie than at that of Dole. It was the cuſtom of Richlieu, after any reverſe of fortune, to puniſh ſome illuſtrious victim, either to ſatisfy his vengeance, or to excite duty by ſpreading terror. He made the duke of Vallette, whom he did not love, reſponſible for raiſing the ſiege of Fonterabrie: he had him judged by commiſſaries whoſe ſteps he regulated by his own power: the king himſelf preſided at judgment. It is recorded that the preſident of Bellievre had the courage to ſay to him: 'Can your 'majeſty bear the ſight of a gentleman at 'the

'the bar, who, as ſoon as he quits your 'preſence, dies on a ſcaffold? It is cer-'tainly incompatible with royal dignity; 'the appearance of a prince ſhould ſpread 'mercy around him; and thoſe who ſtand 'before him ought to retire pleaſed and 'happy.' But Lewis had as much deſire for extreme ſeverity as his miniſter. He reproached the parliament with not ſhewing regard to his abſolute commands: 'Thoſe who tell me,' added he, 'that I 'cannot give what judges I pleaſe to my 'ſubjects when they have offended me, 'are ignorant, and unworthy of poſſeſſing 'their places.' The duke of Vallette was condemned to death, and executed in effigy. Many people looked on this ſentence as an overturning of the laws. It was annulled the beginning of the reign of Lewis XIV.

Four hundred new patent places created in the parliament of Paris, and other extraordinary means employed to gain money, increaſed the murmurs of the nation, and raiſed a great rebellion in Normandy, which was ſtifled by military executions. The parliament of Rouen was interdicted for not having ſhewed ſufficient vigour againſt the ſeditious. Under a hard, ſevere, and pitileſs government, would the people

people have dared to rebel, if miſery had not reduced them to deſpair? Notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, the French had ſeveral campaigns abroad, and continued the war with more ſucceſs than before. The count of Harcourt gained immortal honour by the taking of Turenne. His camp was beſieged while he beſieged that place. For twenty-two days he was almoſt entirely without proviſions. The famous John de Wert, having learned the circumſtances of this ſiege, ſaid, 'That he had rather be 'general Harcourt than the emperor.' The conqueſt of Arras was not leſs glorious. It gave the lie to the ancient proverb uſed in that city; 'when the French 'take Arras, the mice will be too hard for 'the rats.' The marſhal of Chatillion ſignalized his zeal by an action worthy commemoration. His ſon having been wounded by a muſquet-ſhot, a report ſpread through the army that he was dead, and the news preſently reached the ears of the marſhal. 'He is very happy,' ſaid he, 'to die on ſo glorious an occaſion as the 'ſervice of the king.' This generous father had very ſoon the pleaſure of ſeeing his ſon return, covered with glory.

The taking of Arras was not the moſt fatal ſtroke to Spain. Philip IV. or rather the

the duke de Olivares, the Spaniſh Richlieu, committed the ſame fault with regard to the Catelons, which had formerly occaſioned the rebellion againſt Philip II. This people, infinitely jealous of their privileges, could not bear to ſee themſelves deprived of them. Troops ſent into the province, purchaſed by violence and profanations, inſpired a hatred for government. The Catelonians entirely ſhook off the yoke, and afterwards gave themſelves to France. The intrigues of Richlieu contributed much to this revolution: he alſo ſowed ſeeds of diſſention which detached Portugal from the Spaniſh monarchy. Philip II. had overrun that country in prejudice to the houſe of Bragance. An unforeſeen conſpiracy re-eſtabliſhed that houſe on the throne, which it ſtill enjoys. Thus Spain, too powerful under Charles V. weakened itſelf all at once, anſwerable to the deſires of the French miniſter. There is, in all empires, a point of elevation, from which they cannot, in the general way, be degraded, when circumſtances are foreſeen; but it is a Richlieu only who can profit from ſuch circumſtances.

Meanwhile the count of Soiſſon, who had always found a retreat at Sedan, prepared

pared himſelf for a civil war. He held a correſpondence with Spain, and was ſupported by the dukes of Bouillon and Guiſe. Before the plot broke out, Richlieu endeavoured to engage the brave Gaſſion, who was then nothing more than a 'colonel, to pretend to embrace the part of the count; by which means he might dive into his ſecrets, and betray them to the court. This was an infallible means of riſing to the higheſt fortune. Gaſſion diſdained to be exalted by ſuch diſhonourable means: 'If I had nothing to loſe but my life,' ſaid he, to the miniſter, 'I would willingly give it for the ſervice of your 'eminence; but I can never ſacrifice my 'honour.' 'It is enough,' replied the cardinal, 'your fortune will ſuffer by it; 'but you will not loſe my eſteem.' Gaſſion kept the ſecret, and Richlieu, who had a noble ſoul, teſtified his approbation of his behaviour. Meanwhile the rebels got together a conſiderable army. The marſhal of Chatillon commanded that of the king: he was beaten at Morſee by the count of Soiſſon. If that prince had not been killed in battle, his victory would, without doubt, have been of great conſequence. The duke of Bouillon, to preſerve to himſelf Sedan, haſtily made deceitful terms,

terms, and entered into a new conſpiracy, while he was ſwearing inviolable fidelity. Cinqmars, a favourite of Lewis XIII. was the principal author of the plot, of which Richlieu was to be the victim.

This young man being raiſed to the dignity of grand eſquire, owed all his fortune to the cardinal, who had taught him the manner of captivating the heart of the king. Ambition ſtifled all ſenſe of gratitude. He deteſted his benefactor becauſe he pretended to govern him. He had no more real regard for the monarch, whoſe ſerious and melancholy turn made him find extreme fault with his taſte for luxury and pleaſure. 'I am very unhappy,' ſaid he, to his friends, 'to live with a man who con-'demns me from morning till evening.' He diſſembled not this ſentiment to the king. It was between them a ſubject for continual diſputes, without the favourite being leſs beloved; ſo much the weakneſs of the prince had given him the empire over him. Lewis paſſed all over for the ſake of the little ſatisfaction of blaming, to his confident, the miniſter to whom he had abandoned the reins of government. Cinqmars changed entirely his manner of acting. Once he had appeared deſirous of favour, once he had endeavoured to cultivate

vate it; but now, ſeduced by the hope of ſupplanting the miniſter and the governor of the kingdom, he excited the duke of Orleans to rebellion: he drew the duke of Bouillon into his cabal, and they ſent an emiſſary into Spain to make a treaty, in the name of Gaſton, to open France to its enemies. Lewis went in perſon to conquer Rouſſillon. Never did the credit of Cinqmars appear greater than in this voyage. He no longer concealed any thing; he openly profeſſed his hatred of the cardinal; he propoſed to the king, either to have him aſſaſſinated, or to drive him from court. The king ſeemed reſolved to do the latter; and Richlieu, dangerouſly ill at Teraſcon, had no longer any doubt of his diſgrace; but his good fortune drew him from this danger: he diſcovered the treaty concluded by the factious with Spain, and gave advice of it to the king. The face of affairs ſoon changed; the imprudent Cinqmars was put in priſon; the duke of Bouillon was arreſted in Italy, where he commanded the French army. The ſon of the famous preſident de Thou, their friend and confident, ſubmitted to the ſame fate. There were not ſufficient proofs to condemn them. Monſieur was not aſhamed to be witneſs againſt them, in order to purchaſe

purchaſe mercy for himſelf. Such had always been the actions of this prince; rebellious through caprice, and ſacrificing his friends through cowardice. The proſecution was begun at Lyons, under the eyes of the miniſter; who determined, that de Thou ſhould be treated like Cinqmars, though his crime was only the concealing a conſpiracy of which he diſapproved. He repreſented, that by accuſing the king's brother, the duke of Bouillon, and the grand eſquire, without having proofs for their conviction, he ſhould have paſſed for a calumniator. The judges, however, condemned him, with his friend, to loſe his head, founded on an edict of Lewis XI. which Richlieu himſelf cited to the chancellor, and which was forgotten as too rigid a law. The duke of Bouillon was pardoned, on condition of yielding his principality of Sedan to the king; he received in exchange the revenues of a land much more conſiderable. Monſieur humbly ſubmitted to live as a private man, without guards, without government, and without credit. After the execution of Cinqmars and de Thou, the cardinal having received the news of the taking of Perpignan, wrote to the king, who was returned to Paris. 'Sire, your enemies are 'dead, and your arms are in Perpignan.'

Triumph-

Triumphant over his own enemies rather than thoſe of the king, but worn out by ſickneſs, he took the road to court, and made part of the journey in a kind of chamber covered with damaſk, which his guards carried on their ſhoulders. The decline of his body had not at all hurt the vigour of his mind. He ſtill promiſed himſelf the regency after the deceaſe of Lewis XIII. when he himſelf died at fifty-ſeven years old. In receiving the extreme unction, he took God to witneſs, that in the courſe of his miniſtry, he had never had any other view than the good of religion and the ſtate. The voice of the public did not render him ſo flattering a teſtimony; but his ambition, his deſpotiſm, his cruel revenge, his little jealouſies, and his vanity of an author, could not efface the glory of his great enterpriſes. He is reproached with having ſacrificed the laws of humanity to his paſſions; nevertheleſs, it muſt be ſaid he conquered Rochelle, reſtrained the ſeditious, and rendered France reſpectable to its enemies. He was heard to ſay one day, 'I never 'dare undertake any thing without having 'well thought upon it; but having once 'taken a reſolution, I carry it through: 'I overthrow every thing which ſtands in 'my way; I mow down all which oppoſes 'me,

'me, and at length I incloſe it all toge-
'ther under my red caſſock.' Such was his character; much depth in projecting, and force in executing. The Czar Peter had ſo high an idea of this miniſter, that, at the ſight of his tomb in the church of the Sorbonne, he cried, in a tranſport of enthuſiaſm, 'O great man! if thou 'waſt ſtill alive, I would give half of my 'empire to learn of thee how to govern 'the other half.' Marc Aurelius would have preferred a miniſter who was zealous for the honour of the nation; an eſſential object, which Richlieu had neglected too much. He founded the French academy in 1625. France would, perhaps, have gained more by the culture of talents than by that cruel war, ſo fatal to the houſe of Auſtria.

The queen-mother, Mary de Medicis, died in indigence at Cologne. Lewis did not ſurvive her long. Ann of Auſtria, after twenty-three years barrenneſs, had brought him two ſons. He would not leave the government to that princeſs, whom he did not love, nor to the duke of Orleans, who merited leſs his eſteem and tenderneſs. He made a declaration, by which, in giving the regency to his wife, and the title of lieutenant-general of the minor

minor king to his brother, he eſtabliſhed a council of regency to reſtrain each other's authority. There was very little effect of this declaration after his death. 'Son 'and father to two of our greateſt kings,' ſays Mr. Henault, 'he fixed the ſtill 'tottering throne of Henry IV. and pre-'pared the wonders of the age of Lewis 'XIV.' This is not ſo much making an elogium on Lewis XIII. as on the cardinal de Richlieu, who might be truly ſaid to be the reigning prince. The other was always governed; but he preſerved, in ſpite of his diſguſts and jealouſies, a miniſter, without whom he would, in all probability, have been the ſport of the factious of his unworthy favourites, and of ſome miſtreſſes, to whom he delivered himſelf without paſſion, that he might confide with them his uneaſineſs and trouble. If it is true what is ſaid by ſome hiſtorians, that he had, in his infancy, the ſirname of Juſt, becauſe he was born under the ſign of the Balance; this pompous name did not do him much honour, but caſt a ridicule on the ſuperſtition of his age.

During this reign, the human mind began to diſpel the clouds of error and barbariſm which covered it. Malherbe and Corneille

Corneille might be ſaid to create our poeſy. Deſcartes baniſhed the abſurdity of the ſchools, and opened, by a wiſe doubt, the road to truth. Chancellor Bacon in England cultivated the ſtem of an infinite deal of uſeful knowledge. Gallilée in Italy demonſtrated the movement of the earth round the ſun; but prejudices always blind the multitude. The inquiſition impriſoned Gallilée as an impious man, becauſe he knew the heavens; and Deſcartes was accuſed of atheiſm, becauſe he had greater ideas of God and Nature than his weak accuſers. It is ſcarcely to be credited, that the parliament of Paris at this time forbid, under pain of death, the teaching of any doctrine contrary to that of Ariſtotle. The proſecution of Urban Grandiere, a prieſt at Loudun, condemned to the fire, in 1634, for having, it was ſaid, bewitched a whole convent of religious, is ſtill a celebrated monument of the ignorance of our anceſtors. This ignorance dictated unjuſt laws, and made thoſe unhappy people periſh in torments whom they falſely ſuppoſed culpable. Surely we have nothing more to do to make us ſenſible of the neceſſity and advantage of ſcience, than to look into the account of the abuſes and miſeries from which it has redeemed the

the human ſpecies. If fanaticiſm no longer bathes itſelf in blood; if ſuperſtition no longer ſtifles natural underſtanding; if religion, preached with candour, and practiſed with wiſdom, tends only to make mankind happy; if we peaceably enjoy a mild and poliſhed ſociety, let us render thanks to that ſuperior reaſon which began, under the reign of Lewis XIII. the great work that it has ſince brought to perfection.

LEWIS XIV.

LEWIS XIV. born in 1638, began, in the weakneſs and troubles of a ſtormy minority, a reign, which carried to the higheſt degree the glory of the nation and the royal power. His mother, Ann of Auſtria, had, by act of parliament, the abſolute regency; and the limits which Lewis XIII. had ſet were buried in oblivion. It was not the firſt time that the wills of ſovereigns had been annulled after their deceaſe. Actual authority eaſily over-

overpowered that which no longer exiſted. The queen changed the council in what manner ſhe judged moſt proper, and appointed cardinal Jules Mazarin prime miniſter: he became from thence, though a foreigner, maſter of the government of the ſtate. Richlieu had been acquainted with him during the war in Italy, where Mazarin negociated for the duke of Savoy. He had afterwards fixed him in France as a man capable of ſeconding his views, and managing buſineſs with addreſs. The prudent Italian juſtified his choice; but was a proof how dangerous it was to ſucceed him. The war undertaken againſt the powerful Auſtrian had been an occaſion of murmur to the nation for a long time, who bore the expences, and groaned beneath the neceſſity of them. The plan of the late reign was ſtill purſued, and glorious victories rendered the French name ſtill more and more reſpectable. Its enemies were on the frontiers of Champagne. The duke of Enguien, ſon to the prince of Conde, an hero of twenty-one years old, gave them battle before Rocroi, in ſpite of the orders of the court, and deſtroyed the veteran Spaniſh bands, who were eſteemed the beſt troops in Europe. The count de Fuentes, their general, was

killed at their head; and the prince ſaid, he would either follow him, or vanquiſh.

The next year he defeated the Imperialiſts at Fribourg. Some hiſtorians aſſure us, that, to animate the troops, he threw his ſtaff of command into the intrenchments of the enemy, and attacked them ſword in hand. Though the pummel of his ſaddle was carried away by a cannon-ſhot, and the ſheath of his ſword broken by fire from a muſquet, yet the impetuoſity of his courage equalled that vivacity of genius which had already rendered him ſuperior to the greateſt men of his time. Thionville, Philipſbourg, and Mayence, were the fruits of theſe two victories. The duke of Orleans took Gravelines in the Low Countries; but little did he think that this conqueſt would be fatal to him through a jealouſy of rank. The marſhals of Meileraie and Gaſſion diſputed who it was that took poſſeſſion of the place. They were preparing to give battle; their regiments were on the point of charging: when the marquis de Lambert, marſhal of the camp, threw himſelf between them with a noble boldneſs, and addreſſed theſe words to the regiments: 'Gentlemen,' ſaid he, 'you are the king's 'troops; the miſunderſtanding of two 'generals ought not to make you cut each

'other's

'other's throats. I command you, on the 'ſide of the king, not to obey either M. de 'la Meileraie or M. de Gaſſion; and I ſhall 'give advice of all which has paſſed to my 'lord duke of Orleans, that he may iſſue 'what orders he thinks proper.' Theſe words ſtruck them with awe; they ſuddenly ſtopt, and the prince terminated the difference. It raiſes our admiration, to ſee an inferior riſe above the unruly fierceneſs of his ſuperiors, only by ſtanding firm to his duty.

The marſhal of Turenne, whoſe reputation was not yet as brilliant as that of the duke of Enguien, who was much younger than himſelf, had been ſurpriſed by general Merci at Mariandel. The victor of Rocroi marched to his aſſiſtance, and gained the battle of Norlingue, where Merci was killed. He took Dunkirk, that place of ſo much importance to the kingdom. They afterwards ſent him to Catalonia to beſiege Lerida, which the Spaniards had retaken. This ſiege he was not able to ſupport for want of ſuccour. His ſervices had already excited more jealouſy than acknowledgment, and the enemies of his glory endeavoured to bury them in oblivion. During theſe tranſactions, Holland, in ſpite of its authentic promiſes not to enter

into any treaty without France, made peace with the king of Spain, Philip IV. who abandoned all kind of right over the United Provinces, and reacknowledged their ſovereignty. A general peace had been a long time in agitation, but did not prevent the war from being zealouſly carried on. The prince of Conde (which was the title that the duke of Enguien had ſucceeded to by the death of his father) was choſen to fight the Spaniards in Flanders, who began now to be feared; he gained the famous battle of Lens. 'Friends,' cried he, before the action, 'remember Rocroi, Fribourg, 'and Norlingue.' Theſe words, but ſtill more his own example, rendered the army invincible. Turenne, his rival in glory, contributed much to his ſucceſs. The ſoul of a great man is not capable of that baſe jealouſy which betrays the common cauſe through perſonal intereſt.

At length, after many bloody expeditions, the detail of which would fill ſeveral volumes, the treaty of Weſtphalia re-eſtabliſhed calm in a part of Europe. It ſet proper bounds to the power of the emperor, and fixed the claims of the different princes of Germany; at the ſame time confirming the Proteſtants of that country in the poſſeſſion of eccleſiaſtical lands

which

which had been taken from them. The king of France made them yield the ſovereignty of Metz, Toul, and Verdune, which he already poſſeſſed, and that of Alſace, which increaſed his power. The Swedes obtained more conſiderable advantages. The wonderful valour and diſcipline of their troops had decided great part of the ſucceſs of the war. This army of heroes coſt a million of livres annually to France, and ruined the deſpotiſm of the houſe of Auſtria. The Catholics ſigned at Munſter the treaty of Weſtphalia, and the Proteſtants at Oſnaburg. Spain refuſed to agree to it. Civil war lighted up a flame in the kingdom, which offered a fine occaſion for vengeance.

Though Mazarin had effected in the beginning as much modeſty and mildneſs as Richlieu had ſhewed haughtineſs and cruelty, he was, notwithſtanding, the object of public hatred. They could not pardon a foreigner being poſſeſſed of that immenſe fortune which rendered him maſter of the ſtate. They ridiculed his perſon, his manners, and his bad pronunciation. Ridicule in France is capable of producing very ſerious effects. Some pecuniary edicts ſent to parliament excited a general murmur, The preſident of Blanc Menil, and the

counſellor Brouſſel, having oppoſed ſome meaſures of the court (with which they were particularly diſſatisfied) more ſtrenuouſly than others ventured to do, were arreſted in a manner likely to raiſe an inſurrection among the people. This event very ſoon put the capital in confuſion. A Prelate, as much given to libertiniſm as he was to faction, the coadjutor of Paris, afterwards cardinal of Retz, was the great incendiary in this rebellion. In leſs than two hours, there were in the city more than twelve hundred barricades; the laſt of which the citizens made uſe of as a place of ſafety for their troops. It was obliged to be given up to the two magiſtrates. The Frondeurs (that was the name which was given to the ſeditious) became more and more audacious. They had at their head the duke of Beaufort, the coadjutor, the prince of Conti, the duke of Bouillon, the marſhal of Turenne his brother, &c. but Conde was for the court. A ſmall ſpark lighted up civil war. Never was any thing more fantaſtical than its principles and its events.

The parliament, drawn by the violence of factions, made acts which favoured the war; and a biſhop employed his whole genius to foment diſcord, without any one pretence

pretence of religion. Lewis XIV. who gave laws to Europe, by the treaty of Weſtphalia was obliged to leave his capital. Conti beſieged it, and the parliament raiſed troops for its defence. What ſingularly characteriſes this rebellion is, the ridicule with which it was accompanied. They jeſted with their ſwords in their hands. The duke of Beaufort, grandſon to Henry IV. was called the king of the mob, becauſe his popular manners enchanted the people. The regiment belonging to the coadjutor was ſtiled the Corinthian regiment, becauſe its chief bore the title of Archbiſhop of Corinth. Having been beaten in a ſally, his rout became a ſubject for bon mots. It was called the firſt of Corinthians. Twenty new created counſellors, who had each of them furniſhed fifteen thouſand livres at the beginning of the war, were known under the name of the Fifteen Scores. While the ſtate was menaced with ruin, their taſte for raillery became every day more lively. Meanwhile the Spaniards took advantage of theſe circumſtances; and the fear of ſeeing them very ſoon in France, produced an accommodation, with which neither the court nor the Frondeurs were ſatisfied. Mazarin preſerved his place, and the parliament its authority.

Some time after, the prince of Conde, thinking himſelf not well recompenſed for his ſervices, inſulted the miniſter, braved the government, and united himſelf with the prince of Conti his brother, and the duke de Longueville his brother-in-law. The queen arreſted theſe three princes, as if the government was ſufficiently confirmed to ſupport ſo hazardous a ſtep. The people, equally blind and wilful, celebrated their impriſonment by bonfires. Parties were, however, very ſoon formed to draw them out of priſon; and the parliament made acts againſt Mazarin. That miniſter, deſirous of rendering himſelf popular by the deliverance of the princes, went in perſon to ſet them at liberty; for which good ſervice he received from them nothing but contempt. At length, yielding to the violence of the ſtorm, he quitted the kingdom, without loſing any of his credit with the queen, who pretended to be reconciled with the prince of Conde; but worked underhand to draw the hatred of the Frondeurs upon him. The vivacity of this hero carried him out of himſelf; too fierce to manage either party properly, he defied both, civil war appearing preferable in his eyes to this ſtate of perplexity; he became a rebel; through caprice and imprudence he precipitately quitted the court.

court. They diſpatched a courier to him, loaded with propoſals, which ought to have engaged him to return immediately. The courier deceived himſelf, confounded Angerville with Augerville, and executed not his commiſſion in time. What a ſmall matter often determines the fate of people. The prince confeſſed, that if he had received the letter at Angerville, the offers of the court would have prevented his going further off.

At the firſt ſignal of civil war, Mazarin re-entered France at the head of ſeven thouſand men. Meanwhile his life was put at a certain price by an act of parliament, they being determined to purſue the miniſter. He at the ſame time proclaimed the prince of Conde (his enemy) guilty of leſe majeſty, who being leagued with the Spaniards and Turenne, had abandoned them to ingratiate himſelf with the court. Theſe two great men ſhortly tried their ſtrength at Gien, where Turenne afterwards ſaved the king and royal family under the walls of Paris, at the battle of St. Antoine, ſo celebrated for the valour of its combatants, and the addreſs of its generals. Conde had been vanquiſhed, if Mademoiſelle, daughter of Gaſton, had not cauſed the cannon of the Baſtile to be

drawn over the royal army. 'This cannon 'was brought there to kill her huſband,' ſays Mazarine, ſpeaking of that princeſs, 'who deſired an eſtabliſhment worthy of 'her birth, and who, from that time, was 'forgotten by the king.'

Though Lewis XIV. had attained to the age of majority, the parliament declared the feeble Gaſton lieutenant-general of the kingdom; always unſtable through character, but now fixed by the preſence of the prince of Conde. In order to puniſh the parliament, they transferred it to Pointoiſe. Some of its members obeyed. The greateſt number acted in oppoſition to the court; but the king ſacrificed his new miniſter to the good of the country. The departure of Mazarin appeaſed theſe troubles. Paris returned to its obedience, and Conde ſought an aſylum in the Low Countries, where the king of Spain made him generaliſſimo of his army.

Charles I. king of England, loſt his head on a ſcaffold, for having, at the beginning of his troubles, given up the life of Strafford his friend to his parliament. Lewis XIV. on the contrary, became the peaceable maſter of his kingdom, by ſuffering the exile of Mazarin. Thus the ſame weakneſs had very different ſucceſs. The king

king of England, by abandoning his favourite, encouraged a people who breathed nothing but war, and who hated kings; while Lewis XIV. or rather the queen-mother, by ſending away the cardinal, took away all pretence of rebellion from a people who were tired of war, and who loved royalty. (Age of Lewis XIV.)

This contraſt delineates the character of the two nations; but we ought to obſerve a more eſſential difference in the two wars. A ſpirit of cabal without any fixed object, without any deep views, full of lightneſs and caprice, had agitated France, as a flying ſtorm troubles the ſurface of the ſea, inſtead of that violent fanaticiſm and enthuſiaſm of liberty which had armed the Engliſh againſt the unhappy Charles. The puritans and independents, more fanatical than the leaguers under Henry III. made it a religious duty to cruſh the throne: and the hypocrite Cromwell knew how to employ theſe powerful reſources which tranſported men out of themſelves. After having vanquiſhed his maſter, and ſubdued his party, he dictated the horrible ſentence by which the ſubjects held a court of judicature on the life of a king, worthy of their love and veneration. It cannot be denied but that the cardinal Richlieu,

diſſatisfied with the court of England, had fomented the firſt diſturbances of the puritans. He undoubtedly did not foreſee the cataſtrophe; but to underſtand what cannot be miſtaken, (theſe are his terms) ought he to have rendered his policy odious, by favouring the enemy of reaſon, of religion, and of royalty?

The Fronde diſappeared as ſoon as the king had entered into his capital. He regulated the future conduct of his uncle Gaſton, who finiſhed his days at Blois, having never merited either the glory of a good ſubject, or the reputation of a chief of party; always factious without courage and without firmneſs, fearing every thing for himſelf, and nothing for thoſe who ſerved him. The coadjutor, raiſed to the rank of cardinal by his intrigues, more audacious than the duke of Orleans was timid, braved danger by ſhewing himſelf at court. They ſent him to priſon. The archbiſhop of Paris being dead, he took poſſeſſion of the archbiſhopric by proxy, and refuſed, for a long time, to give it up. The famous cardinal de Retz, after having played ſo great a part, was no more any thing in the ſtate. He lived till the year 1679, when he died in his retreat, where he had been the delight of his friends.

For

For Mazarin, the object of ſo much hatred and conſpiracy, he returned to Paris in triumph: the people and the parliament at the ſame time, received him with great honours. The prince of Conti married one of his nieces; and at length, by the force of mildneſs and patience, he became as abſolute as Richlieu. What then were the fruits of the civil war? Ridicule, diſgrace for the Frondeurs, and an increaſe of authority to the miniſter whom they deſired to diſgrace.

The Spaniards, profiting by the folly of the French, retook Barcelona, Caſſel, Gravelines, and Dunkirk. Turenne ſtopt them, and raiſed the ſiege of Arras, where the prince of Conde, who had the misfortune of fighting againſt his country, met with a thouſand diſagreeable circumſtances in the ſervice of Spain. He always ſhewed himſelf a great general; but his deſtiny ſeemed to be to vanquiſh only for France. So obſtinate a war had exhauſted the two nations. They each of them endeavoured to make an alliance with Cromwell; which attempt was generally abhorred. This uncommon man reigned under the title of Protector, making maritime affairs and juſtice flouriſh in England. After he had ſullied himſelf with the blood of his king,

the crowned heads endeavoured to draw him into their party, ſo much policy ſometimes overcomes benevolence. Mazarin decided it againſt the Spaniard; and the condition of the treaty was, that they ſhould abandon Charles II. It was neceſſary to ſacrifice the cauſe of the king to an uſurper. The queen of England, Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. lived in France in an indigent manner: her two ſons retired into Spain. The Spaniards filled Europe with invectives againſt the French miniſter, as if they had been ignorant of the offers which had been made by themſelves to the Protector.

In the expeditions to Flanders, Conde and Turenne increaſed their reputation by fighting againſt each other. The firſt had the glory of ſaving Cambray, where he arrived before they had completed the inveſting of the city; but he loſt the battle of Dunes, followed by the taking of Dunkirk. This place was delivered to the Engliſh. It had been promiſed to Cromwell, who died very ſoon after, in thoſe troubles which were inſeparable from tyranny. At length France and Spain concluded a war which was equally fatal to the two nations. The conferences for a peace were held in the iſle of Faiſans, on the

the confines of the two kingdoms. Mazarin, and Don Lewis de Haro, held the negociation together for ſeveral months: they there reproached each other with always endeavouring to deceive, and the fineſſe of the Italian found great obſtacles in the pride of the Spaniard; nevertheleſs the treaty was concluded in an advantageous manner. France kept Rouſſillon and a part of Artois; the king of Spain renounced his pretenſions over Alſace; the infanta Maria Thereſa was given to Lewis XIV. This marriage had been for a long time the principal object of Mazarin's policy, who foreſaw the uſeleſſneſs of the renunciations which they exacted from the infanta, if there ſhould happen to be no male heir to the Spaniſh monarchy. Thereſa in effect renounced the ſucceſſion; but her claim was, notwithſtanding, revived, and her poſterity enjoy at this time the crown of their fathers. The re-eſtabliſhment of the prince of Conde was one of the conditions of the peace: Mazarin would not have conſented to it if the Spaniards had not appeared diſpoſed to give that prince ſtrong places in the Low Countries. Was it not rather a duty to preſs and facilitate the return of this great man, who was born for the defence and glory of

his country? A dethroned and fugitive king, related to the crowns of France and Spain, the unfortunate Charles II. could not obtain any mention of himſelf in this treaty; the two miniſters, for fear of offending the Engliſh, refuſed at the ſame time to ſee him: he was, notwithſtanding, re-eſtabliſhed ſome months afterwards by one of the ſudden revolutions of which England alone furniſhes ſo many examples. Another prince, whom lightneſs, imprudence, and want of fidelity had always made unhappy, Charles IV. duke of Lorrain, obtained the reſtitution of his ſtate; but on condition that he ſhould no longer keep up a ſtanding army, and that the fortification of Nanci ſhould be demoliſhed. Thus the treaty of the Pyrennees conſummated the grand work of the peace, which that of Weſtphalia had already much advanced; and both of them increaſed the glory of Mazarin, a glory preferable in one ſenſe to that of Richlieu, whoſe policy ſet Europe in a blaze, and left to his ſucceſſor the trouble of extinguiſhing the flames.

Lewis XIV. went to meet his wife on the borders of Spain. Before this negociation took place he had been enamoured with a niece of the cardinal's. That miniſter,

niſter, it was ſaid, once flattered himſelf that he would marry her, and ſpoke of it to the queen mother, pretending a fear that ambition would undoubtedly make his kinſwoman accept of it, and begging the queen to make uſe of her power to prevent it. 'If the king was 'capable of ſuch an indignity,' ſaid Ann of Auſtria, 'I would put myſelf with my 'ſecond ſon at the head of the nation 'againſt him, and againſt you.' Whatever truth is in this anecdote, Mazarin, exhauſted by labour, died, as Richlieu had, before he reached ſixty. As the one was naturally proud, courageous, and exalted; the other was mild, cunning, and circumſpect. His riches, which amounted to near 200 millions of our real money, was a proof of the inſatiable avarice with which he was accuſed. The cares of the ſtate rendered this opulent miniſter too odious not to lower him in the public judgment. Actuated by remorſe, at the end of his career, he made a donation to the king of all his lands. The king returned it to him, as he had, without doubt, foreſeen; and appeared ſincerely to regret him, though he was impatient of exerciſing his own authority. In 1655, after his firſt campaign, he had ſhewed in a ſtriking manner

manner how jealous he was of it. The parliament being aſſembled on the ſubject of ſome edicts, he entered the hall in a hunting dreſs, with boots on, and a whip in his hand, and in the tone of an irritated and abſolute maſter, he ordered them to break up the aſſembly, forbidding them at the ſame time to make any new ones. His orders were accompanied with all the royal dignity, and were reſpected as ſuch.

The time was come when France was to change its appearance: two all powerful miniſters had governed with ſucceſs, without making it happy. Divided between their own intereſts and that of the nation, in procuring themſelves glory, they had left the nation poor, and leſs flouriſhing than it had been under Henry IV. But they now ſaw what it was to have a king, who joined nobleneſs of ſentiment to a penetrating mind, and application to buſineſs. From the time that Lewis XIV. began to reign he became the idol of France, and excited the admiration of Europe. He was almoſt the only ſovereign who was now diſtinguiſhed by perſonal merit.

The daughter of Guſtavus Adolphus, Chriſtina, queen of Sweden, had abdicated her crown, in 1654, to cultivate (in Rome) philoſophy and the fine arts. A ſingular inſtance,

inſtance, which drew from people of letters more eulogiums than her character or conduct merited; for the true glory of kings conſiſts in making the happineſs of their people. It was not expectedthat a monarch of 22 years old, a lover of pleaſures, having, to avoid the trouble of politics, ſo long a time ſubmitted to the will of Mazarin, would take on himſelf the reins of government, and be capable of ſupporting it. But his reſolution was taken, and he executed it on the ſpot. At the firſt council which was held after the death of the miniſter, he declared that he would ſee for himſelf, and forbid the doing any thing without his orders. 'The face of the 'theatre is changed,' added he; 'I will 'have other principles in the government 'of my ſtate, in the regulation of my fi-'nances, and in the negociations without 'doors, than what were in the time of 'Monſieur the cardinal: you know my 'will; it is your duty now, Gentlemen, to 'execute it.' From that moment the council took a reſpectable form. Mazarin had in ſome kind abated it by holding it in his chamber, while he ſhaved himſelf, while he dreſſed himſelf, and diverted himſelf with a bird and a monkey. The king loved

loved order and decency in the moſt common things.

One of the moſt dangerous wounds to a kingdom is the waſte of its finances, equally fatal to the prince, whoſe deſigns it croſſes, and to the ſubjects from whom it draws taxes. Lewis felt the neceſſity of remedying it. The depredations of the ſuperintendant Fouquet, as profuſe as Mazarin was avaricious in the expence of the ſtate, had determined the king to puniſh him; he had him arreſted, after having loaded him with careſſes. The fear of rebellion, not very probable, was the motive of this ſtrange diſſimulation. Colbert, one of the authors of the ruin of Fouquet, ſucceeded him, under the title of comptroller-general of the finances, and the place of ſuperintendant was aboliſhed. Much zeal, application, and ſagacity rendered this miniſter worthy the choice of Lewis. Taxes were at once conſiderably diminiſhed, and commerce became in a little time a ſource of abundant riches. After three years proſecution they condemned the ſuperintendant to baniſhment, which was changed into perpetual impriſonment. The academician Peliſſon had the courage to defend him, while the greateſt part of his friends abandoned him in

in his diſgrace. This ſtroke of generoſity ought always to be celebrated in the annals of literature.

It is actions which develope the character of a man. The king, naturally fierce and paſſionate for glory, of which he had not perfect juſt ideas, very ſoon learned to what height he ought to be reſpected abroad. His ambaſſador at London having been inſulted by the Spaniſh one, who diſputed precedency with him, he threatened Philip IV. his father-in-law, again to take up arms againſt him, if he did not make amends for this inſult. The king of Spain had the prudence, or meanneſs, to comply. An extraordinary ambaſſador, which he ſent expreſs to Lewis, declared publicly, that the Spaniſh miniſters were no longer on a footing with thoſe of France. The pope Alexander VII. at the ſame time, was obliged to humble himſelf before the young monarch. The lacquey of the French ambaſſador had attacked an eſcort of the body guard in the middle of Rome. Theſe kind of violences were then too frequent amongſt the French, whoſe audacity and inſolence often braved all ſort of diſcipline. The guards furiouſly beſieged the hotel of the ambaſſador, and killed ſome of his domeſtics.

At this news the king demanded ſatisfaction of the pope. The court of Rome endeavoured to gain time to draw itſelf out of this embarraſſment; but the French ſeized on Avignon, which was an eaſy means of bringing it to the terms deſired. Alexander ſent the Cardinal Chigi, his nephew, to aſk the king's pardon; he had the body guard caſhiered, and raiſed a pyramid in memory of this event. So much vigour in affairs of ſmall conſequence ſhewed the European princes what they were to expect from a young king, ſo delicate on the point of honour.

He acquired a more ſolid glory by ſuccouring the emperor againſt the Turks, and in procuring to the kingdom real advantages. Charles II. ſold him Dunkirk, for five millions. We muſt obſerve that money was then 26 livres to a mark, and that it is now 49 and a half. This port, by the immenſe works which were made in it, became an object of terror and jealouſy to the Engliſh, who never pardoned Charles a ſtep ſo contrary to the good of the nation. The finances which Colbert had re-eſtabliſhed, put Lewis in a condition to form the greateſt deſigns; he had already renewed the age of Auguſtus, by the prodigious benefactions which he beſtowed

on

on people of letters, as well on foreigners as his own ſubjects. He now began the wonderful canal of Languedoc, which joined the two ſeas, in ſpite of the mountains which ſeparated them. He founded the Eaſt India company, and a number of manufactures likely to enrich the kingdom. He built a new navy, which was the more neceſſary as the ſhips of Holland and England covered the ocean, while the French had ſcarcely 15 or 16. His policy was concealed for ſome time in the European affairs, and he only waited an occaſion of ſignalizing himſelf by ſtriking enterprizes. His ambition was too much inclined to that kind of glory which coſts tears to human nature, the deſire of conquering; an occaſion of acquiring which very ſoon preſented itſelf.

After the death of Philip IV. it was pretended in France that queen Maria Thereſa of Auſtria, his daughter by the firſt marriage, had a claim on Flanders and the French County, to the excluſion of the new king of Spain, a child by the ſecond marriage. 'If the cauſes of kings,' ſays M. Voltaire, 'could be judged by the 'law of nations, a diſintereſted tribunal, 'the affair would have admitted but little 'doubt.' It appeared certain to thoſe whom

whom Lewis charged with examining it; they paid no regard to the renunciations made by the queen; they complained to the court of Madrid that her dowry had never been paid. Their reſpective claims were diſcuſſed in various works publiſhed in France and Spain; but arms were to decide the proceſs. An abſolute monarch, rich, and well ſerved, was ſure of conquering Spain, which was then governed by Jeſuits. The marquis of Louvois, miniſter of war, admirable in that party, made all the difficulties of conqueſt eaſy; he eſtabliſhed magazines for the ſubſiſtence of the troops, an excellent method, unknown in leſs happy ages. The king, having under him the marſhal of Turenne, with troops perfectly well diſciplined, made himſelf maſter, in one campaign alone, of almoſt all Flanders. Liſle, the ſtrongeſt place in the country, ſupported only nine days ſiege. As ſoon as the victor had recovered himſelf from theſe fatigues, he attacked the French County in the heart of winter. Conde followed him in this expedition. Provence was conquered in three weeks: they there found traitors which the French money had power to corrupt. Nothing reſiſted him; Dole itſelf, which had made ſo good a defence againſt

againſt the father of the great Condé, was taken by Lewis the fourth day of the ſiege.

Theſe rapid conqueſts could not fail of making him many enemies; they denounced an ambition and power capable of alarming all Europe. Holland feared ſuch a neighbour as France, whoſe aſſiſtance had till then been ſo advantageous to her: ſhe entered into a league all at once with England, her enemy, and with the Swedes, who had been for a long time friends of France, in favour of Spain, againſt whom ſhe had always fought. It was then that policy broke through all alliances, and formed new ones in ſpite of preſent intereſt. The king foreſaw the effects of this triple alliance, and offered peace to Spain. It was ſigned at Aix-la-Chapelle; they gave back the French County, but kept all the conqueſts in Flanders, Charlerois, Ath, Douay, Lilly, Oudenarde, Coutray, Armentieres, &c. Vauban had already fortified ſome of theſe places according to the new method. That great engineer, inſtead of raiſing fortifications as they had hitherto done, put them almoſt on a level with the country, by this means being leſs expoſed to the cannon, the approaches of the enemy were rendered more difficult.

The art of war improved every day, but other people profited by the French example. While Lewis inſpired foreigners with terror, he neglected no means of rendering his kingdom more and more flouriſhing. The fine arts, excited by his benefactions, increaſed the riches and happineſs of the nation. Paris became moſt delightful and magnificent; all the ſtreets were paved and lighted with lanterns during the night; an exact policy, unknown before, ſecured the ſafety of the inhabitants. It had been ordered under the reign of Henry IV. that ſhows ſhould begin in winter about two o'clock; ſo much dirt obſcured the city, and the ſtreets were ſo infeſted with thieves, as to render them impaſſable at the cloſe of the day. The good order which is now eſtabliſhed was not the leaſt work of Lewis XIV. he founded the hoſpital for invalids; he forced nature at Verſailles with too much expence; he raiſed the ſplendor of the throne by ſumptuous feaſts, without loſing ſight of the principal affairs of Europe. An aid of 7000 men, which he had ſent to Candia, retarded for more than three months the taking of that important place, which the Turks were beſieging. Other princes had occaſion to

bluſh

bluſh at an example of generoſity which they could none of them imitate.

Exceſſively jealous of his glory, he could not pardon the Hollanders having dared to contradict his deſigns. The fierce republican their ambaſſador, Van Heuninghen, had offended him at the time that they negociated the laſt treaty with Spain. It was to him that this queſtion from the miniſter was put: 'Will you not truſt to 'the word of a king?' He frankly replied, 'I am ignorant of what a king will do, I con- 'ſider only what he can do.' The inſolence of the Dutch Gazetteers, and ſome proud medals which were ſtruck in their country, appeared an attempt againſt the perſon of Lewis XIV. This republic, whoſe lands were ſo barren, and whoſe ability was ſo ſmall, was become, through induſtry and commerce, as powerful as proud. Its conqueſts, its eſtabliſhments in the Eaſt Indies, and a prodigious navy, had made it diſpute with the Engliſh the empire of the ocean, and it had often fought for the vain honour of the flag. It ceaſed to be friends with France when it could no longer be ſupported by it; for the Dutch policy was not very ſcrupulous in the common duties of ſociety. The king knew how to deſpiſe things of this nature, by demanding ſatis-

faction of the States. Moderation was not a proper epithet to be given him in his eulogium, he rather choſe to make his greatneſs conſpicuous by a terrible vengeance. Reſolved to ſubdue Holland, he detached himſelf all at once from the intereſt of the king of England, Charles II. a voluptuous and extravagant prince, whom the want of money had rendered very tractable. The Swede, gained over alſo, renounced the triple alliance. Every meaſure being taken with as much ſecrecy as activity, war was declared and begun. More than 200,000 men were deſtined to conquer a little ſtate, which had not more than 25,000 ſoldiers for its defence. The king entered it, followed by his brother, Conde, Turenne, Luxembourg, Vauban, Louvois, &c. ſpreading all around him terror and deſpair. The paſſage of the Rhine, celebrated perhaps with too much emphaſis, was an action leſs perilous than brilliant; the heat and dryneſs of the weather had rendered an arm of this river fordable; the cavalry found themſelves under a kind of neceſſity of ſwimming, and diſſipated with little trouble ſome troops which guarded the coaſt. The infantry paſſed afterwards over a bridge of boats. They loſt the young duke of Longueville

gueville in this battle, but he was killed through his own fault; though the enemy demanded quarter, he puſhed on them, crying, 'No quarter for this mob;' when immediately a diſcharge from the cannon laid him in the bed of death.

The rapid ſucceſs of this campaign was prodigious; three provinces, and more than four fortified places, were conquered in leſs than a month. Amſterdam ſaw almoſt all France at its gates, in ſpite of the prince of Orange, who oppoſed the grand penſionary John de Witt. The States implored the clemency of the victor. The conditions of peace which were propoſed appeared dreadful to a free people, whoſe courage, as it after happened, was re-animated by deſpair. John de Witt, whoſe long ſervices ought to have made him reſpected, became odious, through his deſire for peace; the unjuſt fury of the populace cruelly ſacrificed him to the hatred of the prince of Orange. They thought only of ſaving the republic, or of burying themſelves under its ruins: for this purpoſe they opened the dykes of the ſea, expoſing themſelves by ſuch an inundation to the greateſt inconveniences. A pint of freſh water was ſold for ſix pence; but the love of liberty and of their country pro-

duced the moſt heroic efforts. While Holland was under water, or in the hands of the French, the Dutch fleet often fought with thoſe of France and England; and the famous admiral Ruytter ſupported the honour of the nation. Meanwhile the emperor Leopold, Charles II. king of Spain, and the greateſt part of the princes of the empire, alarmed by the conqueſts of Lewis, united themſelves with Holland, to ſtop a torrent which ſeemed to threaten all Europe. The king of England was forced by his parliament to make peace. The French now repented of having not followed the counſel of Conde and Turenne, by demoliſhing a number of places, the garriſons of which had too much weakened the army. Lewis, after the ſiege of Maſtricht, where he merited much glory, had the chagrin of abandoning three provinces which he had rapidly ſubjected. A great part of Europe fell beneath his arms; which was for him a new ſubject for triumph. He knew how to make ſtill freſh conqueſts, and to defend thoſe which he had made. The French County ſubmitted, for the ſecond time, in ſix weeks. It was taken without returning to the Spaniſh monarchy, under which this province had formed a kind of republic, contented in

poverty

poverty to enjoy its privileges. On the ſide of Germany, Turenne, with an army very inferior to that of his enemies, diſconcerted all their meaſures, and brought back conſiderable advantages. The devaſtation of the palatinate, where 2 cities and 25 villages were unpitiably reduced to aſhes, revenged the French for the cruelties which had been exerciſed upon ſome particular people. The miniſter had ordered this vengeance; and the virtuous Turenne was, in ſpite of himſelf, the inſtrument. Conde at the ſame time headed the army in the Low Countries, againſt the prince of Orange, who was more than half as ſtrong again through the number of his troops. The bloody battle of Senef deſtroyed men, without producing any good; according to the report of the prieſts they buried 25,000 corps in a ſpace of two leagues. The prince of Conde had three horſes killed under him; he took no more care of his own perſon than of his ſoldiers. All theſe horrors of war fell on the human ſpecies; victims too little regretted, through the ambition of kings and the glory of heroes On each ſide they chanted *Te Deum*, when they had much more reaſon to weep than to rejoice.

The emperor ſent the celebrated general Montecuculli againſt the marſhal Turenne; theſe two rivals, after having excited the admiration of Europe, by marches and campaigns more glorious than victorious, were on the point of coming to a deciſive action, when Turenne was killed by a cannon ball as he was examining a battery. The ſame bullet having carried away the arm of Monſ. de St. Hillary, lieutenant-general, his ſon ran to him all in tears, 'My ſon,' cried St. Hilary, 'it 'is not for me that you ſhould weep, but 'for that great man.' Turrene deſerved ſuch an eulogium, more through the qualities of his ſoul than the ſuperiority of his talents. He had abjured Calviniſm in 1668. The proteſtants, greatly hurt by his converſion, did not believe it ſincere: they ſuſpected that he aſpired to the dignity of conſtable; but his frankneſs, and his noble ſimplicity, ought to have prevented theſe malign conjectures. If love had made him commit any faults, as he grew in years he covered them with many virtues. As well then, as in the lightneſs of his youth, it would be hard to find in our hiſtory a warrior worthy to be compared with him. The marquis of Louvois was jealous of this hero, and rejoiced at his

his death, with which he ought to have been afflicted, as a miniſter and a citizen. Montecuculli, profiting by the conſternation of the army, paſſed the Rhine, piercing into Alſace. The great Conde marched againſt him and ſtopped him. At length, renouncing a command which his health would not permit him to ſupport, he retired to enjoy by himſelf glory, ſciences, letters, and the fine arts. Montecuculli quitted the ſervice of the emperor, becauſe he ſaid, 'A man that had fought againſt 'the Condes and Turenne, could not ſet 'his reputation againſt the generals who 'were hardly begun to be ſuch.'

The ſtrength of government was raiſed to that height, ſuch was the reſources of the miniſter, the addreſs of the generals, the diſcipline and courage of the troops, that France preſerved its ſuperiority until the end of this war. Sicily revolted againſt Spain, giving itſelf up to the French. Ruytter came to the ſuccour of the Spaniards, but he found in the celebrated Du Queſne a formidable enemy. Our fleet was three times victorious; and Holland loſt Ruytter, whom Lewis XIV. himſelf honoured with regret. From a cabbin-boy on board a ſhip he was become by his merit one of the firſt men of the republic, and

the lowneſs of his origin gave new glory to his name. The king made two campaigns in Flanders, as victorious as the firſt. His brother, though enervated by ſoftneſs, alſo ſignalized his valour. The taking of Valenciennes, of Cambray, of St. Omers, and the battle of Caſſel, were memorable events in the year 1677. Lewis, on his return to Verſailles in the month of May, ſaid to Racine, and his hiſtorians, 'I am ſorry that you could not 'come to this laſt campaign; you would 'have ſeen the war, and your journey 'would not have been long.' 'Your ma-'jeſty,' replied Racine, 'did not give us 'time to make up our clothes.' An ingenious reply, which ſhewed the art, ſo common in courts, of finely ſeaſoning flattery. This great poet was perhaps too much a courtier to fulfil with veracity the duties of an hiſtorian. The hiſtory of our kings, generally ſpeaking, ought not to be written under their eyes.

The king, triumphant on all ſides, either through himſelf or through his generals, though he had evacuated Sicily, whom the licentiouſneſs of the French had often taught to rebel, yet the ſucceſs of his arms made him the arbitrator of Europe; he gave them peace, and impoſed on them conditions.

tions. The treaty of Nimeguen was his work. The Hollanders alone loſt not any of their cities. Spain yielded the French County, and a great part of Flanders. The emperor gave up Fribourg. The young duke of Lorrain, ſucceſſor to Charles IV. was to be re-eſtabliſhed in his ſtate; but on ſuch conditions as he had the courage to refuſe, rather chuſing to live a ruined fugitive, than to ſubmit to the law of Lewis. Four days after the treaty of Nimeguen had been ſigned with Holland, the prince of Orange, who could not help knowing, and indeed could not doubt, that the peace was approaching, came at the head of 50,000 men to attack the marſhal of Luxembourg near Mons. This ſucceſſor of the great Conde, having received news of a peace, expected nothing leſs than a battle; he had however the glory of repulſing the enemy; and the prince of Orange could ſcarcely juſtify to the eyes of the public the having laviſhed human blood through a cruel and fruitleſs ambition.

Lewis was now at the height of his greatneſs; they gave him in France the ſirname of Grand, and the jealouſy of Europe dared not contradict this title. The peace, of which he preſcribed the conditions, did not hinder him from ſtill ex-

tending his dominions. Two chambers eſtabliſhed at Metz and Briſſac, to reunite to the crown all the ancient dependencies of the three biſhoprics and of Alſace, made decrees by which they ſeized on a great number of lordſhips whoſe ſovereigns had enjoyed them for a long time. Straſbourg ſtill preſerved its liberty, a powerful city, which was the more ſo for having a bridge over the Rhine, by which means it could open a paſſage into the kingdom for the enemy. Louvois undertook to reduce it; he treated with the magiſtrates, gaining ſome, intimidating others, at the ſame time a French army threatened Straſbourg. The treaty of reduction was concluded in ſpite of the groans of a republican people; and, in a ſhort time, this great place, fortified by Urban, became the French rampart on the ſide of Germany.

Colbert had put the marine in ſo flouriſhing a ſtate, that the king ordered him to make all the Spaniſh veſſels lower their flags. He had 60,000 ſeamen. Neither England nor Holland could ſupport ſo large a number. The corſairs which infeſted the Mediterranean diſappeared before his ſquadron. Du Queſne bombarded Algiers, and for the firſt time made uſe of bomb veſſels, invented by a Frenchman, but from which their enemies profited in their

their turn againſt France: till now they had not thought it poſſible to play mortars with any effect in a floating machine. Algiers, after having been beaten, ſent to make ſubmiſſion. Tunis and Tripoli ſubmitted in the ſame way. Lewis, diſpleaſed with the Genoeſe, who had ſold powder to the corſairs, made them feel the weight of his vengeance; 14,000 bombs deſtroyed a great part of this ſuperb city; and the Doge was obliged to come in perſon to demand a pardon. In the midſt of the magnificence of Verſailles, he was aſked, What he found the moſt ſtriking? he replied, 'Seeing myſelf here.' M. de Voltaire added, that the Doge was charmed with the politeneſs of the monarch, and wounded by the inſolence of his miniſters. 'The king, ſaid he, deprives our hearts of 'liberty, by the manner in which he re-'ceives us; but his miniſters gives it us back 'again.' It was more glorious to Lewis to merit this eulogium, than to ſee at his feet the chief of a republic treated with ſo much rigour, for what appears a venal fault.

Meanwhile pope Innocent XI. ſtern and inflexible though virtuous, braved this powerful monarch. They had quarrelled for a long time on the ſubject of the regale, which was a particular claim belonging

longing to the kings of France, and which had taken riſe from the beginning of monarchy. It gave them a right of receiving the revenues of vacant biſhoprics, and nominating the benefices which were dependent on the biſhopric. Some churches pretended exemption from this law. Lewis, by an edict in 1673, declared that the regale extended itſelf throughout the kingdom. The biſhops of Aleth and Pamiers, celebrated for their oppoſition to the formulary concerning Janſeniſts, of which we ſhall ſpeak elſewhere, dared ſingly oppoſe themſelves againſt the royal authority; and what was ſtill more extraordinary, were ſupported in it by Innocent XI. though rebels to a decree of one of his predeceſſors. The diſpute grew warm; the general aſſembly of the clergy took the ſide of the court. The pope having condemned this ſtep, they ſeized the occaſion of examining the rights and pretenſions of the pope himſelf; and ſignalized themſelves by the four famous articles which expoſed the doctrine of the Gallic church. The ſubſtance of which were; 1ſt, That the eccleſiaſtical power had no authority over the temporal affairs of princes: 2dly, That the general council was ſuperior to the pope, according to the deciſion of the council

council of Conſtance: 3dly, That the cuſtoms and laws received in the Gallic church ought to be maintained: 4thly, That the judgment of the ſovereign pontiff in matters of faith was only infallible, after the conſent of the church. Truths which plain good ſenſe muſt make every unprejudiced man feel, ſeemed then hard to be decided. Rome was taxed with error, and the Italian prejudices which had inſpired the league were not yet ſtifled in the kingdom. The affair made much noiſe, it would not have done ſo in our days. Innocent II. more irritated than ever, condemned the propoſitions of the clergy, and refuſed the bulls to all the biſhops nominated by the king. This inflexible harſhneſs produced a ſchiſm: ſeveral people already talked much in France of eſtabliſhing a patriarch, independent of Rome; the religion of the king prevented them from coming to this extremity.

But he was too haughty to yield to the pope. He was determined to aboliſh the freedom of the ambaſſadors, whoſe hotels, and the places ſurrounding them, were inviolable aſylums; thieves and aſſaſſins had fled there, and hid themſelves from juſtice. Such an abuſe, in the capital of a Chriſtian kingdom, could not ſubſiſt, becauſe the honour

honour of crowned heads appeared intereſted in it. The emperor, and the kings of Spain and Poland, entered into the views of Innocent. Lewis, it is ſaid, openly declared, that he would never regulate his actions by the example of others, but that it was their places to follow his. This pride was ſupported by acts. The marquis of Laverdin, a new ambaſſador from France, entered Rome in 1687, with a train of ſoldiers, and affected to brave the pontiff, who had abſolutely ſuppreſſed their freedoms. The cenſures which he paſſed upon them ſerved only to enrage the king. They took Avignon; and if Lewis had had leſs reſpect for the Holy See, the imprudence of the pope would doubtleſs have drawn on him the greateſt misfortunes. France, in the opinion of politicians, was tied to Rome only by a thread which was ready to break.

During theſe violent quarrels with Innocent, Lewis ſignalized his zeal for the Catholic religion, by giving the moſt mortal wound to Calviniſm. From the taking of Rochelle, the Calviniſts, far from forming themſelves into factions, peaceably enjoyed their privileges, without diſquieting the government. A ſeditious genius had been loſt under ſupreme authority. The monarch

monarch did not fear them, and gained profit from their labours; but he was eaſily perſuaded that the glory and intereſt of his crown demanded the extinction of hereſy, which ought to yield to his will. Full of theſe flattering ideas, ambitious likewiſe of ſerving religion, notwithſtanding the cauſe of complaint he had againſt the pope, he began to oppreſs the Proteſtants, reſtraining them more and more in their liberty, and very ſoon employed that violence which never ſupplies the place of perſuaſion. Miſſionaries ſent into the provinces, and money diſtributed to the converted, produced no very rapid effect. Troops were ſent to inſpire them with terror. The chancellor Tellier, and Louvois his ſon, were naturally carried into the dangerous meaſures of deſpotiſm. The death of Colbert, who had protected the Calviniſts as citizens, left theſe two miniſters the boundleſs power of following their inclinations. Louvois expreſſes his opinion thus, in letters written with his own hand: 'His majeſty would do well 'to try extreme rigour with thoſe who 'will not come in to his religion, and 'who have the folly to glory in remain-'ing ſtill firm to their errors; they ought 'to be puſhed to the laſt extremity.' As

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if people's thoughts could be regulated by the order of the court. The troops charged with this commiſſion, eſpecially dragoons, were too quick in executing it. Europe rung with complaints, excited by their violence; and in the Proteſtant churches the dragoonade was compared to the perſecution in the primitive church. This rigour produced the general effect; it changed at once the zeal of the Calviniſts into enthuſiaſm. They looked on their country only as a new Babylon; and the more precautions were taken to prevent their flying from it, the more they believed themſelves obliged to break their fetters. At length Lewis revoked the famous edict of Nantes, given by Henry IV. and confirmed by Lewis XIII. Liberty of conſcience was denied to the Proteſtants, their churches demoliſhed, and their children torn from the arms of their parents to be bred in the Catholic religion. They were forbidden going out of the kingdom. Guards, in ſhoals, covered the coaſts and frontiers. The natural love of their country, the ties of blood, and the intereſt of fortune, nothing could ſtop theſe men, who were drawn by fanaticiſm or deſpair; they deſerted by thouſands. Holland, England, and Germany opened their arms

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to receive them. They carried with them immenſe ſums, and, what was ſtill more valuable, manufactures, their induſtry in which enriched the kingdom. In a few years France loſt near 500,000 citizens, ſome ſay 800,000, a loſs not eaſily repaired. It was undoubtedly a great happineſs to re-eſtabliſh uniformity in worſhip and belief; but it was a great misfortune, both for the king and for religion, to excite the hatred of an infinite number of Frenchmen, who became from that time the moſt implacable enemies to their country and to the church. Several, through a warm zeal, have admired this ſtep of Lewis XIV. but human policy, balancing the account of one and the other, prefers the conduct of Henry IV. It is impoſſible to conciliate with evangelic maxims, ſo very different from thoſe of the miniſter Louvois, the cruelties which, inſtead of converting, made them deſperate. It was not till after theſe vexations that the Calviniſts were troubleſome to the ſtate. Queen Chriſtina wrote from Rome, where ſhe had abjured Proteſtantiſm, in theſe terms: 'I look on 'France as a ſurgeon, who cuts off arms 'and legs to cure a malady which a little 'patience and gentle treatment would 'have entirely healed; but I very much 'fear

'fear that the diſorder will now increaſe, 'and at laſt become incurable.'

The pride and power of the king created him almoſt as many enemies as there were princes in Europe. The moſt dangerous of all, whether from his exceſſive ambition, or whether from his profound policy, was William prince of Orange, now deſpiſed by the French, becauſe he had not been happy in the war; but they were very ſoon taught to what his genius was capable of riſing. He was the mover of the famous league, ſecretly projected at Auſbourg in 1686, and concluded at Venice the following year. The emperor, and the greateſt part of the empire, the king of Spain, Holland, the duke of Savoy, and almoſt all Italy, united againſt France. Innocent XI. as proud as Lewis, whoſe reſentment he now proved, ſeconded by his intrigues thoſe of the Dutch prince. A Pope and a Proteſtant, without acting in concert, endeavoured, with an equal zeal, to lower the moſt Chriſtian king. As ſoon as Lewis knew that they deſigned to attack him, he determined to give the firſt blow. The dauphin, ſtiled Monſigneur, was commiſſioned to take Philipſbourg, which was the key of all Germany. 'My ſon,' ſaid the king to him, at his departure,

departure, 'in ſending you to command 'my armies, I give you an opportunity 'of diſplaying your merit to the world; 'go, and convince all Europe, that when-'ever I ſhall reſign my breath, they will 'not be able to perceive that the king is 'dead.' The dauphin, in effect, ſhewed himſelf worthy of his confidence; adored by his troops, careſſed by the whole world, full of mildneſs and courage, (but ſuch a courage, as like that of his father, was under the command of prudence) he acquired glory by the taking of Philipſbourg, which cauſed an univerſal joy in the kingdom. The duke of Montauſier, his governor, wrote to him after this event in theſe terms: 'My lord, I will make 'you no compliment on the taking of 'Philipſbourg, you had a good army, 'bombs, cannon, and Vauban; nor will 'I tell you that you are brave, it is an 'hereditary virtue in your houſe, but I re-'joice to find you liberal, generous, hu-'mane, and rendering your ſervices va-'luable by making them conduce to the 'general good.' Montauſier had the happineſs of pleaſing himſelf with having ſucceſsfully cultivated the virtue of his pupil.

This was no more than the firſt ſparkle of a war. The revolution, which drove

drove the Stuarts from the throne of England, made it blaze out. Charles II. had left the crown to James II. his brother, who became a Catholic, and conſequently odious to his people; and the more ſo, as he believed himſelf abſolute, and was deſirous of being ſo, and paid no reſpect to their paſſion for liberty. Engliſh biſhops put in priſon, a Popiſh Nuncio received at court, the Jeſuits in favour, one of them governing the mind of the king, the ill-concerted project of re-eſtabliſhing the Catholic religion, which the Engliſh were determined never to ſuffer, the whole conduct of James diſpoſed them to a revolt. The imprudence of his zeal was blamed by Rome. The ſages foreſaw that he would himſelf be the victim of it; and that, far from ſerving the church, he would for ever ruin it in England. After uſeleſs complaints, the Engliſh conſpired. The prince of Orange, being ſolicited to put himſelf at their head, was too ambitious not to ſeize this fortunate occaſion. The plot was concerted with a ſecret and wonderful prudence. James, ſurpriſed, made but a feeble reſiſtance. Several officers abandoned him; among others, his favourite Churchill, who ſoon after immortalized himſelf under the name of

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the duke of Marlborough. The unhappy king fell into the hands of the prince of Orange, his ſon-in-law and oppreſſor. He was permitted to fly, and ſought an aſylum with Lewis XIV. whoſe advice he had neglected, and whoſe aſſiſtance he had refuſed. The uſurper was declared king of England, under the name of William III. jointly with his wife, daughter of the dethroned king; and the nation confined the royal authority within ſtreighter limits.

It was now that Lewis began an open war with England. Holland and Spain alſo declared itſelf againſt James. Having received this prince in the moſt generous manner, he uſed his utmoſt efforts to reeſtabliſh him. A conſiderable fleet was very ſoon ready to conduct him to Ireland. The king, in taking leave of him, ſaid, 'I can wiſh you nothing better, than 'never to ſee you more.' The French ſquadron diſſipated that of their enemies. Vice-admiral Tourville obtained a celebrated victory in 1690, after which they dared ſhew themſelves no more. Lewis XIV. for two years preſerved the empire of the ſea; he who at the beginning of his reign had ſcarcely any ſhips. But all this aſſiſtance did not change the deſtiny of

of James II. His former valour ſeemed to have forſaken him with his fortune; he was defeated by his ſon-in-law, at the deciſive battle of Boyne, and returned into France, finiſhing his days inglorioufly but piouſly. A report was ſpread, that the prince of Orange was killed in battle, becauſe his ſhoulder had been grazed by a cannon ball. At this news the people of Paris, without regard for decency, gave way to a ridiculous joy, and burnt him in effigy, not conſidering that theſe kind of rejoicings did more honour than injury to a conquering enemy.

Germany, the Low Countries, and the frontiers of Spain and Italy, were all at once the theatre of war. It is ſufficient to mention the principal events. They had taken the Palatinate, one of the fineſt countries of the empire, where there remained no traces of the conflagration executed by Turenne, to prevent the enemy from ſubſiſting there. Lewis followed the counſel of Louvois commanding a new conflagration. Cities, caſtles, villages were ſet in flames, with the moſt exceſſive rigour; they ſhewed no reſpect even to the tombs of the Palatine electors. The ſoldiers opened them in hopes of finding gold, and ſcattered the aſhes which were incloſed in them

them in the wind. This dreadful expedition was generally deteſted. The king undoubtedly did not imagine that his orders would have produced ſo much miſery; but the cowardly fear of bridling a greedy and brutal ſoldiery made it be carried to the greateſt exceſs. If the laws of war authoriſed things which were repugnant to humanity, policy, as was then obſerved, ſeemed to exact a little more prudence in the management of them. Their enemies might, in their turn, have invaded their kingdom, and who could ſay they had not a right of making repriſals.

The duke of Lorrain, Charles V. a prince without lands, but a formidable general, commanded the imperialiſts; he retook Boſme and Mayence, where the French glorioufly defended themſelves, though theſe two places were badly fortified. After 21 attacks the marquis of Uxelles ſurrended Mayence for want of powder. He certainly was deſerving of commendation, but he was received in Paris with hooting in a full theatre. Such is often the injuſtice of a light people, who decide without examining, and who hang or admire without reaſon, not loſing their ridiculous prejudices till after they have inſulted merit, or paid incenſe to fortune.

In the Low Countries and in Italy, the firſt years of the war were a continual link of memorable victories. The marſhal of Luxembourg walked in the ſteps of the great Conde, whom he imitated in his genius, vivacity, and courage; he gained the battle of Fleurus by the ſuperiority of his talents. Surpriſed at Steinkirk by a ſtratagem of king William's, he gained the glory, though ſick of repulſing and vanquiſhing that hero. Several princes of the blood, at the head of the king's horſe, acted on this occaſion prodigies of valour, which decided the victory. The following year, Luxembourg, in company with the ſame heroes, ſurpriſed William himſelf at Nurvinde, and gained a new battle; 20,000 men ſurrounded there were killed, among which were 8000 French. During this interval, the king in perſon took Mons and Namur. The marſhal of Catenat, a true philoſopher and great captain, who owed his rank only to his merit, defeated the duke of Savoy at Staffarde and at Marſeilles. The marſhal of Noailles was conqueror in Catalonia; the marſhal of Lorges had been ſo in Germany. Never was ſo many ſtriking victories; one only would have been ſufficient to have produced a revolution; notwithſtanding every thing

thing remained a little longer in the ſame ſtate.

Lewis, in ſpite of all theſe conqueſts, no longer appeared invincible; he loſt 14 large veſſels in 1692, after the battle of La Hogue, where Tourville by his orders attacked the enemy's fleet, now more numerous than the laſt. The death of Luxembourg ſtopt the courſe of their triumphs in Flanders. King William, often beaten, but who knew admirably well how to repair his loſſes, retook Namur, within ſight of an army of 80,000 men, without their being able to lend any aſſiſtance to the place. The Engliſh fleet bombarded Dieppe, Le Havre, St. Maloes, Calais and Dunkirk. Courage diminiſhed throughout the army, recruits became difficult, the finances had been greatly diminiſhed ſince the death of Colbert; nevertheleſs the chief in the naval command took Carthagena in America, where the Spaniards loſt near 20 millions. Dugue Trouin, the moſt celebrated of the privateers, ruined the maritime commerce of the enemies. The ſcourge of war was felt by the whole world, and the king deſired peace; he began by detaching the league from the duke of Savoy, Victor Amedee, who was much leſs ſcrupulous of his engagements than

zealous for his intereſt. Catenat was the negociator of the treaty. They gave this prince back his dominions, and deſtined his daughter for wife to the duke of Burgundy, ſon to the dauphin. This event, followed by the taking of Barcelona by Vendoſme, haſtened the ſucceſs of the negociations which were made at Ryſwick with other confederates. The king ſhewed a moderation of which Europe did not believe him capable. He ſacrificed the conqueſts which he had made in Spain, Luxembourg, Mons, Ath, Couthay, &c. all that had been reunited to the crown by the chambers of Metz, and of Briſac, Fribourg, and Philipſbourg, were reſtored to the empire. William was acknowledged for lawful king of England, James II. abandoned, and the duke of Lorrain re-eſtabliſhed. Charles V. was no more (that great general of the emperor); but his ſon Leopold ſucceeded him, who proved the father of his ſubjects, and whoſe memory Lorrain eternally bleſſes, as they do that of Staniſlaus the beneficent. The peace of Ryſwick was in France not a ſubject of joy, but of diſcontent and murmurs. It appeared ſhameful, that the king, who was accuſtomed to give laws to nations, ſhould yield ſo many advantages to his enemies, notwithſtanding

ſtanding the ſuperiority of his arms. Several thought it was a politic ſtroke, to prevent the ſucceſſion of Spain; and that they were willing to avoid the reproach of ambition, and gain time to make preparations, to concert meaſures, and raiſe obſtacles. The Author of the Age of Lewis XIV. proves the falſeneſs of theſe conjectures. They made peace, according to him, becauſe they were tired of war. 'Virtuous ſentiments,' added he, 'certainly influenced them.' Thoſe who think that kings and their miniſters ſacrifice to their ambition inceſſantly, and without meaſure, deceive themſelves no leſs than thoſe who believe that they always ſacrifice to the good of mankind.

When they were on the point of ſigning the general peace at Ryſwick, the Abbe of Polignac, through his wit and eloquence, got the prince of Conti elected king of Poland, whoſe valour had ſhone at Steinkirk and at Nervinde. Two hours afterwards, another party, much leſs numerous, proclaimed the elector of Saxony. The firſt election was the only lawful one; but the Saxon money prevailed. Lewis could not give the prince of Conti ſufficient aſſiſtance, which, had he been able to have done, it would, perhaps, have pre-

vented his making a falſe ſtep. This prince going to ſhew himſelf in the road of Dantzick, they ſhut the gates againſt him, and he returned immediately. All Europe now enjoyed a profound peace. It ſeemed that this ſtate of happineſs was a violence upon human kind by the ſhortneſs of its duration. The north was very ſoon overrun by a bloody war. Ambition inſtigated the young king of Sweden, Charles XII. to this, who was a hero and general at ſixteen years old. Other powers, who had quitted arms, took to them almoſt as ſoon, againſt the king, on the ſubject of the ſucceſſion of Spain. We cannot too much admire the order of Providence who links events in an inexplicable manner, and who conducts every thing to its end by means which often ſeem oppoſite to the effects which reſult from them.

Charles II. king of Spain declined, without having any poſterity to ſucceed him: his neareſt heirs were Monſeigneur, ſon of Lewis XIV. and Joſeph king of the Romans, ſon of the emperor Leopold; but Maria Thereſa of Auſtria, mother to the dauphin, was older than the mother of Joſeph. Europe equally feared the reunion of Spain, whether to the crown of France, or to the German branch called Auſtria.

Auſtria. King William propoſed to ſhare the ſucceſſion, as a proper means to maintain the equilibrium, of which Holland and England were ſo jealous. The dauphin was to have Sicily, Naples, and ſeveral cities in Spain. Milan was deſtined for the archduke Charles, and the remainder for the young prince of Bavaria, a child of eight years old. The king of Spain, diſpleaſed with having his dominions diſpoſed of before his death, made a will in favour of the young prince of Bavaria, declaring him his ſole heir. This child dying, a new treaty of partition was concerted between the king of France, the king of England, and the States-General. Charles II. would not ſuffer, any more than the Spaniards, the idea of diſmembering the monarchy. He now offered all his dominions to the emperor; for the archduke, his ſecond ſon, foreſeeing, that if he gave it to the elder, all Europe would agree to ravage this large inheritance. The proud contempt of the court of Vienna, the thorns which ſhe ſtrewed in this negociation, made her hateful, while the marſhal of Harcourt, the French ambaſſador at Madrid, began to make his nation beloved, by the amiableneſs of his conduct, which was equally full of wiſdom and dignity. Meanwhile the unhappy monarch, as weak

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in mind as body, torn by inquietude and irreſolution, approached the tomb, without knowing to whom to leave his claimed dominion. He appeared to reconcile himſelf with the emperor; on which Lewis threatened to recal his ambaſſador, and raiſe troops. Some grandees of Spain perſuaded their dying maſter, that, in order to avoid the diſmembering of the monarchy, he ought to give it to a little grandſon of the king of France, more capable of defending it, than a diſtant prince, who would find in his road an infinite number of obſtacles. In vain they oppoſed a renunciation of Maria Thereſa, the object of this renunciation being full of the meaſures which they took to avoid the reunion of the two crowns in the ſame ſtate. Spain was to be ſhared between the younger branch, and not to paſs to the elder. Theſe reaſons were plauſible. Charles, through the delicacy of his conſcience, conſulted the divines, and aſked the advice of the pope. The divines were of the ſame opinion with the grandees. Pope Innocent XII. replied, 'That the laws of Spain and the good of 'Chriſtianity exacted, that he ſhould pre-'fer the houſe of France.' He no longer doubted of chuſing the duke of Anjou for his heir, the ſecond ſon of the dauphin;

phin; declaring, That in default of the younger branch of France, the ſucceſſion ſhould return to the archduke, in ſuch a manner that Spain and the empire ſhould never be united. This laſt will of Charles II. was ſo diſcreet, that after his death the ambaſſador of Vienna looked upon it as ſtill favourable to the archduke. What was their ſurpriſe, as well as that of all Europe, when they ſaw a Frenchman heir to this vaſt monarchy, which, for above two hundred years, had been at perpetual war with France. Lewis was looked on as the author of a will in which he had no ſhare, and from which he had nothing to hope. It was deliberated in council, whether they ſhould accept of it, or ſtick to the firſt treaty of partition. Some preferred the ſecond part, to avoid a dangerous war. The king accepted the teſtament. 'Which-'ever ſide I take,' ſaid he, 'I know I 'ſhall be condemned.' But he relied on his ſtrength, and was determined to ſupport the glory of his houſe. The duke of Anjou was declared king of Spain, under the name of Philip V. The king ſaid to him at his departure, 'The Piranees are 'no more:' a fine ſpeech to explain the future union of the two people. As ſoon as England and Holland were acquainted

with it, the duke of Savoy, whoſe daughter he was to have married, ſhewed himſelf zealous for his intereſt. Theſe three powers were ſoon in arms. Lewis, far from endeavouring to manage the Engliſh in theſe very critical circumſtances, irritated them by a piece of generoſity which they looked on as an outrage. James II. being dead, he gave his ſon, the prince of Wales, the title of King of England, contrary to the unanimous advice of his council, to which he had ſubſcribed himſelf. The tears of the widow of the deceaſed, joined to the intreaties of Madam de Maintenon, made him ſuddenly change his deſign, and he acknowledged James III. the ſame day that he had promiſed not to acknowledge him. A couple of women were too mighty for the reaſons of council; becauſe their deſires were ſuitable to the inclinations of the king, which were bent on glorious enterpriſes. This, added to the aggrandiſing of the Bourbons, was a terrible ſtroke to England and Holland; they waited to ſee them take arms, that they might be furniſhed with a pretence. England and Holland were not tardy in uniting themſelves with the emperor. William, though in a languiſhing and infirm ſtate of health, encouraged this alliance; but

but died in the midſt of his preparations: a dangerous enemy, whoſe genius and policy in reſources were inexhauſtible. Without being beloved by the Engliſh, he reigned tranquilly, treating with reſpect the liberty of a proud and turbulent people; but he had always more power in his country than in his kingdom. He was called the Stadtholder of the Engliſh, and the King of Holland. The princeſs Anne, his ſiſter-in-law, daughter of James II. and wife of the prince of Denmark, ſucceeded him, and at firſt followed all his ſteps, becauſe they were conformable to the views of the nation. From all parts a terrible ſtorm ſeemed to threaten France.

Before the other allies declared themſelves, the emperor began the war in Italy. His general was prince Eugene of Savoy, born in France, ſon of the count de Soiſſons, and of a niece of cardinal Mazarin, known at court in his youth, under the name of the Abbé de Savoy, and ſo much forgotten now, that when he quitted the kingdom in 1684, Lewis ſeemed to deſpiſe him, and the courtiers ſpoke of him as a madman, incapable of doing any thing. Never was prejudice more unjuſt, nor proved more falſe by actions. Prince Eugene, with all the qualities of a great man,

could not fail of one day making thoſe repent who had not rendered him juſtice. Thirty-three years old, and already celebrated for his victories over the Turks, he commanded thirty thouſand men, whom he diſpoſed of in what manner he thought proper. Catenat, an adverſary worthy of him, was obliged to yield to ſuperior orders, whch prevented his ſupporting himſelf, by putting trammels on his genius. He made an unfortunate campaign, always flying before Eugene, and loſt a great extent of land. The marſhal of Villeroi, a favourite of Lewis XIV. full of courage and confidence, but who was rather a great lord than a great captain, flattered himſelf with being able to repair this misfortune. They gave him the command of the army under the duke of Savoy. This prince, with the title of generaliſſimo, was almoſt without authority; the diſdainful airs of the marſhal provoked him to a rupture. Meanwhile he valiantly ſeconded Chiari, where Villeroi was beaten through his own imprudence, and where Catenat made a good retreat, after having in vain endeavoured to meet with death.

The following year, in the depth of winter, prince Eugene introduced the troops

troops into Cremoni by a ſtratagem. The marſhal of Villeroi ſlept tranquilly; he was ſuddenly awaked, and going out of his houſe fell into the hands of his enemies. Cremoni would have been taken, if a French regiment, which was paſſing in review, had not put itſelf that morning under arms. Its reſiſtance gave the remainder of the garriſon time to reconnoitre. The enemy was driven out, after an obſtinate battle. The duke of Vendoſme was ſent to ranſom the captain-general. This grandſon of Henry IV. had paſſed through all the military gradations; his great faults, unmeaſurable prodigality, unpardonable negligence and ſoftneſs, with little care in ſupporting diſcipline, were all effaced by great talents. The ſoldiers adored him, and in days of action his genius, excited by peril, diſcloſed itſelf in an aſtoniſhing manner. Prince Eugene alone was able to make head againſt him. They fought the battle of Lugara, where they found the young king of Spain. The French had the advantage, and the Imperialiſts attributed it equally to themſelves. Very ſoon afterwards, Victor Amedee deceived France. Father-in-law to the king of Spain and the duke of Burgundy, he abandoned his ſons to avail himſelf of advantageous

tageous offers made by the emperor. If policy approved this ſtep, it reckoned as things of little conſequence the laws of nature and honour. The war in the Low Countries was ſtill more unhappy than that in Italy. The famous duke of Marlborough, the ſame Churchill who had betrayed James II. commanded the Engliſh and Dutch troops. His ſublime talents, both in command and in negociations, made him much to be feared. Queen Anne, the Engliſh parliament, and the States-General, all entered into his views. He had the advantage of the campaign over the duke of Burgundy, a prince moſt reſpectable for his virtues; and over the marſhal of Boufflers, one of the greateſt men of France; but Villars, who was then only lieutenant-general, and who was ordained one day to ſave the ſtate, gained in Germany the battle of Fredlingue, after which he received the ſtaff of marſhal, which the ſuffrage of the army had given him before. Reunited with the elector of Bavaria, the king's ally, he was forced in a manner to fight in the plains of Hockſtet near Donavert, and gained a ſecond victory. The marquis of Tallard was alſo victor at Spire. They advanced towards Vienna. The emperor trembled for his capital.

capital. Unfortunately, the proud impetuous character of Villars ſo much diſpleaſed the elector of Bavaria, that that prince recalled him. The marſhal was employed in the Cevennes, where the mountain Hugonots, in a fanatic delirium, excited by their prophets and propheteſſes, raiſed the ſtandard of rebellion. No taxes, and liberty of conſcience, was the cry of war, too likely to inflame the fury of a fanatic populace. Villars reſtrained theſe furious people; but he would have been employed to better purpoſe in Germany.

The emperor would have been conquered if Eugene and Marlborough had not fled to his ſuccour. Theſe two generals encountered the French and Bavarian army in the ſame plain of Hockſtet where they had vanquiſhed the preceding year. Had they avoided battle, the enemies would have been diſperſed for want of forage. The ſuperiority of numbers, and hope of a ſecond victory, determined them to take a more dangerous part. The marſhals of Tallard and Marſin, joined to the elector of Bavaria, were entirely defeated. A body of twelve thouſand men, of the beſt troops in France, incloſed in a village, were obliged to ſurrender

render without giving battle. If the generals had not committed this great overſight; if Tallard, whoſe views were very weak, had not thrown himſelf in the midſt of a ſquadron of the enemy, where he was taken priſoner, this army, till then victorious, would undoubtedly have had more ſucceſs, or at leaſt not quite ſo much misfortune. Inſtead of ſixty thouſand men, they could ſcarcely aſſemble twenty thouſand. Villars having learned at Cevennes the diſpoſition made by our generals, had foreſeen that they would be beaten. It is a thing much to be regretted, when the deſtiny of the people depends only upon one head. The battle of Hockſtet, or Blenheim, as it is called by the Engliſh, loſt near one hundred leagues of country. On one ſide, the victors poured into Bavaria; and on the other, they penetrated into Alſace. France was in the utmoſt conſternation. The remembrance of former proſperity rendered this diſaſter the more terrible. M. de Chamillard, who had no other merit than being an honeſt man, became, through the credit of Madam de Maintenon, miniſter of war and the finances. He had need of the genius of Colbert and Louvois, to ſupport the honour

honour of the nation. Since the death of theſe two miniſters, the cords of government had relaxed by little and little. The firſt falſe ſtep ſoon draws after it the moſt fatal conſequences.

The Engliſh made a conſiderable armament againſt Spain, where they endeavoured to conquer the archduke. They took Gibraltar, which was looked on as an impregnable place, and by that means opened the communication of the two ſeas. The efforts which were made uſe of to retake this place, anſwered no other end but to ruin the French fleet. In a ſhort time the provinces of Valencia and Catalonia ſubmitted to the yoke of the enemy. Barcelona was taken in the ſame manner as Gibraltar, rather by a lucky hit than by ſtrength of arms. The great ſucceſs of the French forces in Italy comforted them for theſe loſſes. Vendoſme repulſed prince Eugene, and gained, in his abſence, the battle of Caſſinato. Victor Amedee, as a puniſhment for his defection, was almoſt entirely ruined. They were going to take his capital, when the battle of Ramillies or Ramillie, in Flanders, deſtroyed the hopes of the French. The marſhal of Villeroi got out of priſon; always depending on the friend-

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ſhip of Lewis, and too confident of not committing faults, he commanded an army of eighty thouſand men. Marlborough offered him battle: he accepted it, againſt the advice of the officers and generals; he was obſtinate in following an ill-concerted plan, of which they pointed him out the danger. In leſs than half an hour, this great army was put to rout, and all Spaniſh Flanders ſubmitted to the law of the victor. Nothing better diſplayed the greatneſs of the king's ſoul than the manner in which he received his general; no ill-humour, no reproaches. 'My lord marſhal,' ſaid he, to him, 'this is an unfortunate 'age to us; but every one ſaid that it 'would have been more happy under an 'able chief.'

The duke of Vendoſme was now recalled from Italy, as a general worthy of being ſet in oppoſition to Marlborough. Before his departure, he had declined advancing againſt prince Eugene, who had come to the aſſiſtance of Turin. This place was beſieged by the duke de Feuillade, ſon in-law to the miniſter, a nobleman diſtinguiſhed by his wit, his courage, and his magnificence, but full of that light vivacity with which the French are often reproached, and the greateſt inconvenience of

of which is, the not reflecting ſufficiently before they undertake enterpriſes of conſequence. Notwithſtanding the prodigious preparations made by Chamillard for the ſucceſs of the expedition, the ſiege went on very ſlowly; becauſe Feuillade was taken ill, he had neglected the orders of the marſhal of Vauban, who, like a good citizen, had offered to ſerve under him as a volunteer. Proudly diſdaining ſuch aſſiſtance, he made himſelf reſponſible, in the eyes of the public, for the ſucceeding events. The king ſent his nephew, the duke of Orleans, to fill up the place of Vendoſme in Italy. This prince, not being able to ſtop Eugene, joined the duke of Feuillade before Turin. He propoſed marching againſt the enemy, rather than ſuffering them to attack the lines, where they would have found it too great a difficulty to defend themſelves. The council of war believed that this was the moſt prudent as well as the moſt honourable part. Unfortunately the court determined the contrary: the marſhal of Marſin ſhewed a ſecret order, which prevented their going any further. Prince Eugene very ſoon forced the entrenchments. Sixty thouſand French were diſperſed; one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, proviſion, bag-

gage,

gage, and military accoutrements, all remained in the power of the enemy. They ravaged Millanois, Piemont, Mantua, and the kingdom of Naples. It is believed that Feuillade had promiſed the dutcheſs of Burgundy, daughter of Victor Amedee, not to take Turin. This flying ſtory may, perhaps, be put to the number of popular reports which the malignity and credulity of mankind have received at once without examination, and which diſſipates inſenſibly like other errors.

In Spain, Philip V. was preſſed, in a lively manner, by the archduke, his competitor, or rather by the Engliſh, enemies to the houſe of France. He endeavoured to retake Barcelona: the marſhal of Teſſe, commanding under him, could ſupport him no better than he did at the ſiege of Gibraltar. My lord Galloway was proclaimed archduke of Madrid at the ſame time; but the fidelity of the Caſtilians were incorruptible. The more obſtinate they ſeemed bent to give them a king in ſpite of them, the more they ſeemed determined to ſupport him whom they had choſen. Their zeal increaſed in proportion to their obſtacles. Lewis, though vanquiſhed, ſent them freſh ſupplies. The marſhal of Berwick re-eſtabliſhed the affairs of the king of Spain, by gaining the battle of Almanza,

Almanza, where it was remarked with ſurpriſe, that neither Philip V. nor the archduke appeared at the head of their armies. The duke of Orleans took Lereda, where the great Conde had formerly raiſed the ſiege.

Till now France, though weakened by ſo many ſtrokes, was not diſheartened. Prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy at length entered their country. Toulon was beſieged: the loſs of this important place would have drawn after it Marſeilles. It was likewiſe to be feared, that Dauphiny and Provence would alſo fall into the power of its enemies. Sickneſs, ſcarcity of proviſions, and the efforts of the marſhal of Teſſe, prevented their enterpriſe. Provence was always the rock of the Auſtrians, as Italy had been that of France.

Lewis XIV. in the midſt of his misfortunes, preſerved that elevation of character which raiſed him to the greateſt undertakings. Attacked on all ſides, he ſtill endeavoured to do that in favour of the ſon of James, which he had endeavoured to do for the father. He undertook to replace him on the throne: the chevalier de Forbin was to conduct him into Scotland, where a conſiderable party waited to declare themſelves. The Engliſh foreſeeing this

this inſurrection, prevented the ſucceſs. Forbin ſaved the fleet, though the enemy's veſſels covered the ſea; but they ſuſtained new diſaſters on land. The duke of Burgundy was in the Low Countries, at the head of near one hundred thouſand men; and Vendoſme commanded under him. They were looked on as the laſt reſource of the ſtate. Acting in concert with ſuperior forces, they might have effaced the ſhame of former defeats; but the miſunderſtanding which was among them, was as fatal to them as the union which reigned between Marlborough and prince Eugene. Vendoſme not being pleaſed with the counſel of the duke of Burgundy, neglected his advice; they contradicted each other inſtead of hearing: they committed faults, from which their enemies took advantage. Lilly was beſieged in ſight of this formidable army; and, in ſpite of the great defence of the marſhal de Boufleurs, this important place was taken, after four months ſiege. The Author of the Age of Lewis XIV. aſſures us, That a courtier belonging to the duke of Burgundy ſaid one day to the duke of Vendoſme, 'See what it is never to go to 'maſs; are you not convinced this is the 'cauſe of our diſgrace?' The general replied,

replied, 'Do you believe then that Marl-'borough goes there oftener than I?' Vendoſme ſhould undoubtedly have imitated the religion of the prince; but thoſe who ſeek in the conduct of men a natural cauſe for events, muſt be convinced, that the diviſion of the chiefs was, of itſelf, ſufficient to produce their diſgrace. We ought certainly in every thing to adore Providence; and it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he carries his deſigns into execution by ſecond cauſes. Would the moſt religious man wait for the aſſiſtance of a miracle, when he had it in his own power to take proper meaſures for his ſafety?

The kingdom was already open to its enemies. A Dutch party advanced towards Verſailles, and ſeized on a nobleman, whom they took for the dauphin. Money was wanting to pay the troops, and the people ſaw themſelves ready to fall a prey to the greedy rapine of traitors. Some courageous merchants brought from Peru thirty millions, half of which they lent to the king. This was a precious reſource; but the winter of 1709 having ruined all hope of harveſt, miſery and deſolation were ſo great, that the king ſent two miniſters into Holland to demand peace. The enemy, flushed with ſucceſs, treated him with

with more haughtineſs than he had ſhewn to them in the time of his proſperity. They exacted not only the ceſſion of Alſace, and ſeveral cities of Flanders; but inſiſted, that Lewis himſelf ſhould join with them to dethrone Philip V. his grandſon. Humanity groaned at this propoſal. 'Since 'I muſt be at war,' ſaid the king, 'I had 'rather be ſo with my enemies than my 'children.' The nation, who murmured under an almoſt intolerable burden, was as much diſpleaſed as he, at the low ebb to which ill fortune had reduced them. They redoubled their efforts to ſecond him. Tournay was taken, and Mons threatened with a ſiege: Villars went into Flanders at the head of near eighty thouſand men: Boufleurs, full of that patriotic zeal, of which there are ſo few examples, and which is ſo glorious, begged, though his ſenior, to ſerve under him. Eugene and Marlborough gave them battle near the village of Malplaquet: a more bloody day had not been known for a length of time. The Dutch were cut in pieces; but Marlborough was incloſed in the center of the army. Villars received a wound, and the battle was loſt. They reckoned near thirty thouſand dead or wounded, among which were only eight or nine thouſand Frenchmen. Our

ſoldiers

ſoldiers had been in want of bread a whole day: they had juſt received ſome when the drums beat to arms, and they threw away a part of it to ruſh to battle. Their courage was admirable. The retreat which the marſhal de Boufleurs made, was no leſs ſo. Meanwhile the enemy, notwithſtanding their loſs, beſieged Mons, and took it: ſo much the name only of a battle gains influence ſometimes on the ſucceſs of a campaign.

The poverty of the ſtate, and the miſery of the people, increaſed more and more; and Lewis was under the cruel neceſſity of humbling himſelf afreſh before his victors. He demanded peace with a kind of ſubmiſſion, offering to acknowledge the archduke for king of Spain, and himſelf to give money for dethroning his grandſon. During the negociation, the enemy ravaged Douai, Bethune, Aire, and St. Venent. Their inhumanity increaſed with their fortune: they inſiſted abſolutely, that he alone ſhould drive Philip from Spain. The emperor Joſeph, ſon of Leopold, had already forced Clement XI. to acknowledge the archduke, his brother, notwithſtanding the penchant the pontiff had for the houſe of France. The battle of Saragoſſa, gained by Starenberg, an Auſtrian general, ſeemed to fix the

crown on the head of that prince. Philip flew far from Madrid. The few troops which remained with him were recalled to defend France. The council of Spain now demanded of Lewis one man only, the duke of Vendoſme, who was no more employed. The preſence of this general produced a revolution. They were eager in furniſhing him with money: they ran in crowds to range themſelves under his banners. The victors flew before him; he purſued them rapidly, and gained a complete victory at Villavicioſa. This day was as glorious as deciſive for Philip V. who fought at the head of the right wing. It is recounted, that after the battle, not having a bed for the monarch, 'I am going,' ſaid Vendoſme to him, 'to make you the fineſt bed that ever 'king lay on.' He made him ſleep on the ſtandards of the enemy.

Little court intrigues led more than this great event to the concluſion of a peace. The dutcheſs of Marlborough governed queen Anne, while the duke governed the ſtate. The quarrels of women are often about trifles: the queen changed her favourite, and ſoon afterwards the miniſtry. Marlborough loſt his credit: he was bent on continuing a war, which was advantageous to his fortune; but they no longer ſeconded his

his views: they perceived that the national intereſt ought not to be exhauſted in favour of a fallen power. The death of the emperor Joſeph diſſipated all uncertainty, The archduke, his brother, Charles VI. ſucceeding him in the empire, ſtill endeavoured to add to it the crown of Spain, being willing to re-eſtabliſh the houſe of Auſtria in its former greatneſs. The hatred againſt Lewis XIV. was ſufficiently ſatisfied. Why ſhould not a people be comforted who had ſuffered ſo many ſcourges? Theſe conſiderations determined the council of London. A ſuſpenſion of arms was concluded between France and England; and Dunkirk was put into the hands of the Engliſh as a pledge for the performance of engagements.

Meanwhile prince Eugene continued to make in Flanders freſh acquiſitions. He beſieged Landreci. The domeſtic misfortunes of the king put the finiſhing ſtroke to the misfortunes of his people. My lord the dauphin had been dead ſome months, a mild and wiſe prince, who promiſed a pacific government: the duke of Burgundy, his eldeſt ſon, that worthy pupil of Fenelon, who had been taught by him to exerciſe all the virtues of a throne, and to govern mankind as a Chriſtian philoſopher, died alſo at thirty years old. Of

two ſons which he left behind, one followed him very ſoon to the grave; and the ſecond, ſtiled the duke of Anjou, afterwards Lewis XV. was at the point of death. Lewis XIV. could no more be called the moſt happy of kings; but might be rather ſtiled the moſt unfortunate of men. Landreci not being able to ſupport a long ſiege, they deliberated whether the king ſhould not fly from the capital. Always firm in adverſity, he anſwered, 'That 'ſhould any new misfortune happen, he 'would call together all the nobility of his 'kingdom, whom he would conduct to 'the enemy, notwithſtanding his age of 'ſeventy-four years; and that he would 'die at their head.' The marſhal of Villars drew Lewis and France from this extreme peril. The lines of prince Eugene did not extend themſelves a great way. Villars made a feint of attacking him in his camp of Landreci: he gave the charge and forced the entrenchments of the duke of Albemarle at Douai. Victory was decided when Eugene arrived: they repulſed him, and beſieged Marchiennes, the depoſitory of his magazines. This city was taken in about three days, and Landreci delivered. Douai, Quenoi, and Bouchain were taken from the enemy, and forty battalions made priſoners during the courſe of the campaign.

paign. Villars ought to have been looked upon as the ſaviour of France; yet malice obſerved no bounds in her rage againſt him, which, indeed, he himſelf irritated not a little by the fierceneſs and inſolence of his temper. It was well known, that once, in taking leave of the king, he openly ſaid to him, 'Sire, I am going to fight 'your majeſty's enemies, and I leave you 'in the midſt of mine.' A ſuperior merit could not be wanting in rendering juſtice to itſelf, which it rarely obtains from others, when it ſeems to trample with diſdain on their love.

The peace, ſo deſirable and ſo neceſſary, was the fruit of the marſhal's ſucceſs. It was at length ſigned at Utrecht. Philip V. renounced his claims to the crown of France: the duke of Savoy had Sicily, with the title of king: Spaniſh Flanders was left to the emperor, and ſeveral cities were delivered to the Hollanders, to ſerve for a barrier for them, but without which they would have had the dominion. England kept Gibraltar and the Iſland of Minorca. The king was obliged to demoliſh the port of Dunkirk, which had coſt him immenſe ſums. He abandoned a part of his former conqueſts in the Low Countries. Lilly, Bethune, and St Venent, were ſurrendered to him. The emperor Charles

VI. would not enter into this negociation, and had reaſon to repent it. Villars paſſed the Rhine, retook Landau, which the enemy had ravaged, forced their lines in Briſgau, and rendered himſelf maſter of Fribourg. Theſe exploits produced the ſame advantage which did the victory of Douai. The court of Vienna haſtened to make peace: the marſhal fixed the conditions at Radſtat with prince Eugene. Of all that France had offered, as Straſbourg, Alſace, &c. the emperor had nothing, by being greedy of having too much. He reeſtabliſhed the electors of Bavaria and Cologne. Naples and Sardinia remained his, torn from the Spaniſh monarchy.

Such was the end of this unhappy war, which had reduced Lewis XIV. to the laſt extremity, and which threatened to take from him ſeveral provinces, and deprive his grandſon of the ſucceſſion; for which all Europe had been embroiled. France only loſt ſome of its conqueſts. Philip V. remained poſſeſſor of the kingdom of Spain, and of the richeſt countries in America. The Catalonians at firſt refuſed obedience to their king, and puſhed their rebellion to an exceſs of madneſs; but the marſhal of Berwick tamed them. Barcelona ſurrendered itſelf at diſcretion, after ſixty-one days open defiance. This furious reſiſtance

ſiſtance was in part the work of fanaticiſm: the eccleſiaſtics and religious heated the imaginations of the people by their example, as much as by their diſcourſes. It is pretended that more than five hundred died ſword in hand.

Paternal love inſpired the king to declare the heirs of his crown, in default of princes of the blood, the duke of Mayenne and count of Toulouſe; his natural ſons were legitimated; their ſtate was to be equal in every thing to that of the princes of the blood. The edict made on this occaſion was regiſtered without obſtacle. Lewis XV. afterwards revoked it, leaving the legitimate children all the honours which they enjoyed. The death of the king being to be followed by a minority, he eſtabliſhed by his will a council of regency, of which the duke of Orleans was the chief. 'I have made,' ſaid he, 'a princeſs, becauſe they would have it 'ſo; but it will fare with me as it did 'with my father; when my eyes are cloſed 'they will have no regard to my teſta-'ment.' In effect, the title of regent was given without reſtriction to the duke of Orleans, a perſon ſo capable, through the ſuperiority of his genius, to govern the kingdom.

Lewis XIV. in death ſupported the firmneſs of his character. The ſentiments of religion, with which he was penetrated, gave him new ſtrength. 'Why do ye 'weep for me?' ſaid he, to his domeſtics, 'Is it not time that I ſhould go off the 'ſtage? You have had a long while to 'prepare to loſe me; did you believe me 'immortal?' He made the dauphin, his great grandſon, be brought to him, and taking him in his arms, he addreſſed to him theſe memorable words: 'My child, 'you are going very ſoon to be king of a 'great kingdom; what I recommend moſt 'ſtrongly to you is, never to forget the 'obligations that you owe to God; re-'member he made you what you are, and 'endeavour to preſerve peace with your 'neighbours. I have been too fond of 'war; do not imitate me in that, any more 'than in the great expences that I have 'run into. Take counſel in every thing: 'endeavour to know what is beſt, and al-'ways follow it. Support your people 'rather than yourſelf, and do that which 'I have had the misfortune of never be-'ing able to do.' He expired the firſt of September 1715, at ſeventy-ſeven years old.

We do not pretend to juſtify the memory of Lewis XIV. in thoſe things with which

which he reproached himſelf in the leſſons that he gave to the young king his ſucceſſor: too great a paſſion for war; too great a haughtineſs with regard to his neighbours; too much taſte for magnicent and ſuperfluous expences, and a certain vanity in his conduct, ſupported by the exceſſive praiſes of flatterers, were undoubtedly his errors. Without theſe faults, from which a better education would perhaps have preſerved him, what a bleſſing would he have been to mankind? ſince even they did not hinder him from doing things equally uſeful and admirable. The poets and orators of his time, in ſome ſort, deified him; but, taking away from their eulogiums all that a rigid philoſopher could find worthy of blame, we ſhall ſtill ſee in Lewis the great man and the great king. His private life was a model of decency; he had the weakneſs which we find in an infinite number of heroes, that of being ſeduced by the charms of pleaſure; but he always honoured the queen; and, when he was told of her death in 1684, he ſaid, 'This is 'the firſt uneaſineſs that ſhe ever gave 'me.' He tempered the majeſty of his perſon by an amiable politeneſs: attentive to good-breeding, and poſſeſſing more than any prince ever did, the art of enchanting

hearts by a word properly placed. Madam, the ducheſs of Burgundy, when ſhe was yet very young, diverted herſelf one night at ſupper with the uglineſs of an officer who was preſent. 'I think, ma-'dam,' ſaid the king, 'that he is one of 'the handſomeſt men in my kingdom; 'for I am ſure he is one of the braveſt.' His education had been much neglected, which made him feel the importance of being careful with regard to that of his children. Men truly illuſtrious through their virtues, their talents, and their doctrine; a Montauſier, a Beauvilliers, a Boſſuet, a Huet, and a Fenelon, were the people in whoſe hands this valuable charge was intruſted. Never did any choice deſerve more applauſe. Madam de Maintenon, a woman full of wit and wiſdom, gave Lewis a diſguſt to gallantry, and rendered herſelf ſo much miſtreſs of his heart, that he ſecretly married her in 1686. The affection which he had for her might have made her fortune; but her diſintereſtedneſs, whether for herſelf or her family, made her deny herſelf every thing in a place where ſhe had the power of diſpoſing of all. The king gave her very little, becauſe ſhe would have no more. The melancholy to which ſhe was a prey ſhould teach us, that ambition cannot make happneſs.

pineſs. 'Do you not ſee,' ſays ſhe, one day to a friend, 'that I conſume with 'grief, in a rank of life in which it 'would ſcarcely be imagined I could feel 'any?' She had great part in the foundation of St. Cyr for the education of two hundred and fifty noblemen's daughters. This eſtabliſhment, and that of the invalids, do more honour to Lewis XIV. than all his trophies, or that magnificent caſtle of Verſailles, where he expended ſo many millions.

Things are valuable only according to their public utility. Every thing roſe to perfection in France: commerce, which enriched the ſtate, became one of the principal objects of policy; agriculture, more eſſential ſtill, was leſs attended to; and it was in this, that the adminiſtration of Sully appeared preferable to that of Colbert. If Lewis XIV. left two hundred thouſand and ſix hundred millions of debts, at twenty-eight livres the mark, inſtead of which Henry IV. left a ſpare treaſury behind him; if he was obliged to have recourſe to treaties which Henry IV. had happily eſcaped, it was almoſt inevitably owing to the prodigious expences of the court, as well as the misfortunes of war. The capitulation eſtabliſhed in 1695, the tenth impoſition in 1710, ſeveral enormous taxes, the alteration of the

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money, the invention of a multitude of ridiculous expedients to amaſs gold; all theſe evils ſpread in the kingdom, towards the end of the reign, an univerſal diſcontent. More œconomy would have ſaved the nation from many evils, and the king from the terrible chagrin of loſing the affection of his ſubjects.

One of his principles of government was, that after having examined affairs, he would have an opinion of his own, and ſtick to it with firmneſs. There is an obſervation written with his own hand, in which he ſays, 'Thoſe faults which I have 'been guilty of, and which have given me 'the moſt uneaſineſs, have been through 'complaiſance, and letting myſelf be blind-'ly guided by the advice of others.' Nothing is ſo dangerous as weakneſs, let it be of what nature it will. At the beginning of his reign, he was deſirous of taſting the ſweets of friendſhip; but he made an ill choice. 'I ſought for friends,' ſaid he, 'and I have found nothing but intriguers.' Upon another occaſion he ſays, 'Every 'time I give away a vacant place, I make 'a hundred diſcontented perſons, and an 'ungrateful one.' Thoſe who envy the fate of great men, need only reflect upon theſe words.

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The laws were conſiderably reformed by his aſſiduity; but chicanery always ſubſiſted, and can never be extirpated but by a maſterpiece of legiſlation. His ſeverity, in a great meaſure, reſtrained the fury of duels. Reaſon, perhaps, was now ſufficiently improved to extinguiſh them. The uniform of the regiments, the uſe of the bayonets, the eſtabliſhment of the grenadiers, the regular exerciſe of the troops, and the inſtitution of the order of St. Lewis, contributed much to bring the military art to perfection; this art, equally fatal and uſeful, which ſecures the ſafety of kingdoms, at the ſame time that it is the ſcourge of human kind. We have ſeen the birth, the progreſs, and the fall of the navy. Experience too much proved how neceſſary it was to re-eſtabliſh it. It was what might and ſhould have been the care of the cardinal de Fleury in a peaceable miniſtry. His views extended not ſo far; with admirable ports in the two ſeas, with greater advantages for navigation than any maritime power could have beſides, France is ſtill far from being in a ſituation to defend her commerce and colonies. Misfortune at leaſt ought to teach her to value her own intereſt.

What principally immortalized Lewis XIV. was the flouriſhing ſtate of ſcience and

and letters under his reign, and through his protection. The greateſt talents diſcloſed themſelves; the moſt ſhining works of all kinds were then publiſhed, and the age of Auguſtus appeared renewed. Corneille, Racine, and Moliere eclipſed the glory of the Greek theatre. Deſpreaux gave rules and examples of good taſte: ſublime eloquence broke forth in Boſſuet: Bourdaloue united the force of reaſon with the profound truths of the evangeliſts: Fenelon, with the charms of his ſtile, rendered the auſtere leſſons of morality amiable: the French language, till then vulgar and unformed, roſe to perfection; and crowds of good writers employed themſelves in the ſame things of which the ſcholars ſeemed to have preſerved the knowledge to themſelves. Every body read their works. The whole nation became enlightened. Three literary academies brought together in Paris thoſe geniuſes who were born for the inſtruction of the world. Now that men of letters were no more debaſed by a ſhameful abuſe of their talents, they became much more reſpectable, as they ſerved not only for the glory but the happineſs of ſociety. Knowledge and politeneſs ſpread themſelves in the depth of the provinces. Though pedantry ſtill reigned in the ſchools without

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the burleſque proclamation of Deſpreaux, the parliament, deceived by falſe reports, would have renewed the prohibition of teaching any other philoſophy than that of the Peripatetics. Such is the empire of old eſtabliſhed prejudices. Self-love, intereſt, weakneſs, change of principle, and fear of novelty, puſhed beyond their bounds, often prevail over uſeful truths, which time has not yet made us approve; but when the door is opened to true ſtudy, the progreſs of philoſophy neceſſarily follows that of taſte. France having had excellent poets, produced likewiſe excellent philoſophers. Fontenelle was one of the firſt and moſt illuſtrious; his example raiſed rivals who have ſurpaſſed him.

While people of letters peaceably cultivated their reaſon, theological quarrels diſquieted the ſtate: that of Quietiſme, occaſioned by the extravagant myſteries of a devotee, named Madam Guion, cauſed the diſgrace of the celebrated archbiſhop of Cambray. The piety of Fenelon loſt itſelf in a falſe ſyſtem of ſpirituality. While he believed himſelf engaged in rectifying the dreams of that woman, and the pure love of God, he gave occaſion for cenſure. The biſhop of Meaux, Boſſuet, whoſe diſciple he had been, jealous perhaps of his

his reputation (for great men have their weakneſſes, and paſſion generally mixes itſelf with zeal), ſpoke of him to the king as an innovator. The affair was carried to Rome; they there condemned the holy maxims of the archbiſhop, who, far from defending himſelf after judgment paſſed, as he had done at the beginning of the diſpute, made himſelf admired by an humble and unreſerved ſubmiſſion. He heſitated not to condemn himſelf, retiring into his dioceſe, and regretting, more than any thing at court, his pupil, the duke of Burgundy: he relieved himſelf from the fatigues of epiſcopal functions by works of literature. While there is taſte and humanity among men, the author of Telemachus will be quoted as one of the greateſt maſters in the art of writing, as well as that of inſpiring the love of virtue.

If the divines had been in general bleſſed with the noble docility of Fenelon, Janſeniſm would have been long ſince forgotten. Five propoſitions, drawn from a great Latin book of Janſenius on grace, and condemned by Innocent X. in 1653, raiſed in the church of France that unhappy war which is not yet extinguiſhed. Its principle was a myſtery which reaſon could neither enlighten nor conceive.

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The ſpirit of contention has more room for play in obſcurity. The Jeſuits, zealous defenders of the Romiſh decree, and of their theological ſyſtem on grace, found adverſaries as powerful in France through the talent of writing, as by the extent of their doctrine. The famous Arnaud, a deep and inflexible genius, decried their caſuiſtry with an extraordinary vehemence. The ſharp ridicule which Paſcal threw, more eſpecially on their provincial letters, made an impreſſion which can never be effaced. They took mediators to appeaſe the quarrel. The writers of Port-royal, and their partiſans, rejected the five propoſitions, without being able to convict thoſe which were found in Janſenius. This point, though a matter of indifference at the firſt glance of the eye, reanimated animoſity and diſcord. They ſigned a formulary at Rome, where it was announced in a ſolemn manner; and thoſe who oppoſed it, were treated as Heretics. In vain the religious of Port-royal proteſted, that, not underſtanding the Latin, they could not ſign what Janſenius had put in his book, it being a doctrine which they condemned. Their ſingular obſtinacy irritated Lewis XIV. He diſperſed the religious, and demoliſhed their houſe. Some time after appeared moral reflections from father

ther Queſnel, of the oratory on the New Teſtament. This book furniſhed occaſion for freſh vexations. The cardinal de Noailles, archbiſhop of Paris, leſs diſtinguiſhed for his rank than his perſonal qualities, was the declared protector of a work, which he looked on as likely to inſpire Chriſtian virtues. This was ſufficient for him to loſe his credit at court. Father Telliere, the king's confeſſor, whoſe violent character conſidered nothing, and whoſe credit was ſufficient to cruſh every thing, carried it againſt Queſnel, and againſt thoſe whom he ſuſpected of Janſeniſm, to ſuch an exceſs, that it drew from the Jeſuits an irreconcilable hatred. He was maſter of the feelings of Lewis XIV. who was weakened by age, and who did not foreſee that puſhing to extremity warm and extravagant minds, would be a means of perpetuating a diſpute which prudence ſhould have endeavoured to ſmother. This monarch demanded of the pope, Clement XI. the condemnation of Queſnel. One hundred and one of his propoſitions ſent from France were cenſured in 1713, by the famous bull Unigenitus. Some which appeared exact, became the pretence of a thouſand reclamations. If the author had attached himſelf to a wrong ſenſe, his apologiſts could not

not convince. 'And how,' ſay they 'can 'we aſſure ourſelves of the ſenſe of the 'author?' Lewis ordered, that the bull ſhould be accepted. Forty biſhops accepted of it, explaining that which they judged had need of explanation; but the cardinal of Noailles, a ſmall number of other biſhops, and a multitude of particular people, as well as communities, refuſed the deciſion of the pope, which they looked on as the work of the Jeſuits. Letters de Cachet, the manœuvres of Tellier, envenomed their hearts. The king was unhappy enough to finiſh his days in the midſt of theſe eccleſiaſtical tempeſts, which in another age would have produced a civil war. They have agitated the kingdom even in our days, in ſpite of the moderation of a monarch who is the friend of peace, and attentive to the means of preſerving it. The church groans under diſcord, the infidels triumph, and the wiſe are aſtoniſhed, that they ſhould tear each other to pieces through zeal, inſtead of uniting through the ſpirit of charity. They think, that by diſputing leſs on the dogmas, and practiſing better the moral part of religion, they would not only be better citizens, but better Chriſtians; but the ſpirit of party is always blind; the object which inflames it diſcloſes the importance

of others, and it looks upon the ſuffrages of moderate men as of very little conſequence, provided it can be applauded by thoſe unquiet and turbulent ſouls, whoſe ſhort-lived eulogiums give the lie to the public. Judgment, decency, religious morality, and the underſtanding, which has characteriſed our clergy for the laſt age, makes us hope for more tranquil days, when religion will once more be the bond of a ſociety which fanaticiſm has for ſo long a time rendered unfortunate.

Lewis XIV. might, in ſome degree, be ſaid to form a new nation, very ſuperior to the ancient French one. There remains ſtill much to be done, much evil to be rooted up: this will perhaps be the work of ſeveral ages; but nothing is impoſſible to a wiſe government, enlightened by reaſon, and animated by a love for the public good.

FINIS.